

The
American Speeches
of
LORD LOTHIAN

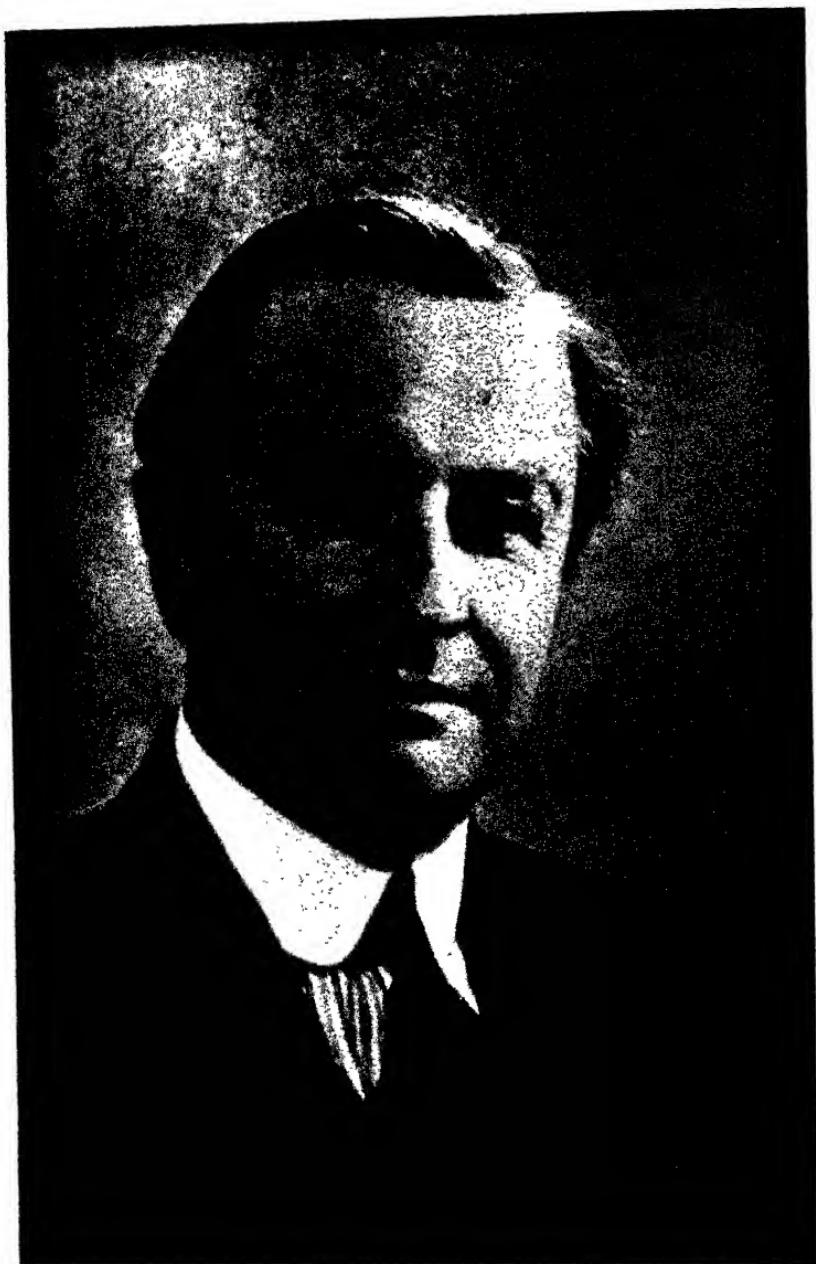


Photo. Kay Vaughan

PHILIP KERR

Marquess of Lothian

The American Speeches of LORD LOTHIAN

July 1939 to December 1940

With a Preface by
LORD HALIFAX
and a Memoir by
SIR EDWARD GRIGG



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EDITORIAL NOTE

THE publication of the speeches delivered by Lord Lothian since his appointment to the Embassy in Washington was put in hand by Chatham House to meet an urgent and widespread demand. No pains have been spared to render authoritative texts available to the public as quickly as possible. In order to hasten the publication no attempt has been made to include an index in this first edition, but readers will have no difficulty in locating a passage they wish to find by referring to the table of contents.

Grateful acknowledgement must be made to the Editorial Committee of the *Round Table* for their permission to reprint the memoir of Lord Lothian written for that magazine by Sir Edward Grigg, who was for some years its joint editor with Lord Lothian.

PREFACE

THIS is not the place to attempt even a sketch of Lord Lothian's life. Memories of that are engraved on the hearts of his friends in all parts of the world and will no doubt be put on public record later. The speeches collected in this volume are concerned with one object to which the late Ambassador dedicated the last and most fruitful period of his life. Lord Lothian—and in this he was a disciple of Lord Balfour—believed that the future of freedom in the world would turn on the relations between the British Commonwealth and the United States. If these relations were to grow closer and more cordial, the prospects of freedom would grow brighter; if the British Commonwealth and the United States were to drift farther apart, then freedom everywhere would be in peril. A better understanding between the two great branches of the English-speaking family of peoples was the cause for which he was working with all his might when he died in harness; he had been working for it at the same pressure throughout the sixteen months during which the responsibility of representing His Majesty the King at Washington rested on his shoulders. One of the grounds of his conspicuous success in this, his greatest achievement, was that he had already been working unofficially for the same object for the best part of his life.

To bring Britain and America nearer to each other was for Lord Lothian a labour of love for which he was marked out by temperament, interest, and experience. By temperament he was an *anima naturaliter democratica*. Few men can have been so little touched as he was by the dead hand of environment. Though Philip Kerr grew up with the expectation of succeeding to a great hereditary position, and did succeed to it in due course, he was always the master, and never the slave, of such external circumstances. As Mr. Wilson Harris wrote in the *Spectator* of the 20th December 1940, 'Kerr to a quite abnormal degree saw men as men and cared less than nothing for rank or place. That was part of the secret of his success in the United States.' He never

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allowed himself to be deflected by his personal heritage from the constructive public work which he had made it his mission to carry out; the field of this mission was determined for him by the bent of his interest; and since he went to South Africa as a young man, his interest lay in the new world overseas—or rather in the ties uniting that world with the old world in Europe from which the new world had sprung. The life of the new world always exercised a powerful attraction upon him, and, like another great British Ambassador at Washington, Lord Bryce, he had an unaffected and intense interest in, and liking for, everything appertaining to the oldest, greatest, and most mature of the English-speaking countries overseas. This would, I feel certain, be confirmed by the unanimous testimony of the innumerable citizens of the United States with whom Lord Lothian came into contact, in a great variety of circumstances, and over a long period of years. He loved America, and made himself at home, with zest, in the American way of life.

His instinctive sympathetic understanding of the American mind and heart was one source of the rare intuition which he displayed, time and again, before as well as during his Ambassadorship, in divining how Americans would feel and act if this or that line were taken by Great Britain. But his sureness of touch in all things concerning Anglo-American relations was not just the happy result of an intuitive sympathy unsupported by practical experience. For many years before his appointment to the Embassy at Washington he had been adding to his natural qualifications for the post by actively making himself acquainted with America and Americans. His duties as Secretary of the Rhodes Trust—a position which he held during the greater part of the twenty years' truce between the two world wars—made him the friend of an ever increasing number of American alumni of the University of Oxford, and gave him occasion to make frequent and extensive tours in the United States. His first-hand knowledge of the United States and of her citizens was thus both close and wide.

Lord Lothian's unusual combination of qualifications for

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occupying the post at which he died are deeply impressed on my own mind because to me, as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs here, fell the responsibility of recommending his name to His Majesty the King for appointment to one of the greatest positions in the representation of His Majesty abroad, at a time of acute crisis. As the clouds gathered, I came to the conclusion that Lord Lothian was better qualified for the post than any other. Lord Lothian undertook his task in a grave hour under adverse conditions. His performance of that task, during the months between the date of his landing in the United States, as Ambassador, at the end of August 1939, when war was only three days off, and his death in December 1940, is one of the outstanding achievements of British diplomatic history. The speeches collected in this volume, to which it is my privilege to write these introductory lines, will show how he faced his task and how successfully he accomplished it. Though this chapter of his life-work was tragically cut short, what he did in these few months has notably eased the path of his successor and has also, I am profoundly convinced, left a permanent mark of historic importance upon the destinies of the two great peoples whom he sought to bring together. As Lord Lothian saw it, the English-speaking peoples have so precious a common heritage to hand down and so great a common mission to fulfil, that they cannot afford to go their separate ways when their mission is challenged and their heritage threatened. This is the fundamental issue with which these speeches deal.

After the defeat of France his courage and complete confidence in the ultimate victory of the British Commonwealth were shown in words that will always remain memorable. He made no attempt to disguise how great was the danger that threatened Britain and all democratic nations, if Britain fell. But he relied, and as events have shown not in vain, on the steadfastness of his countrymen and on the good will and the judgement of the American people.

10th January 1941

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Sir Walter Layton declared that the Englishman, at crisis of his fate, was confident of victory, inspired by knowledge that that was only hope for oppressed nations of Europe (123). British Army transformed since Dunkirk (124). In spite of attack from the air British industry had achieved an increase of 25 per cent. in its output of munitions in two months (125-6). But, except on sea, Britain was still far short of the enemy, who had the resources of Europe at his disposal (127). Britain, however, could fall back on great industrial resources of New World, without whose assistance she could not outstrip the vast German war potential (128). Time an important factor. American war production started later than that of belligerents. Immense though resources of the U.S.A. impossible for her to fulfil both her own defence requirements and needs of aid to Britain, and at the same time to continue to enjoy undiminished amenities of ordinary life (129-31). The speaker confident that Americans prepared to make some sacrifice, since if Britain was to win she would need the material resources of all who believed in her cause (131).

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PHILIP KERR, MARQUESS OF LOTHIAN

I

PHILIP HENRY KERR, 11th Marquess of Lothian, was born in London on April 18, 1882, and died at Washington on December 12, 1940, in his fifty-ninth year. He came on his father's side of an old border family which played an active part in the history of Scotland until the time when the then Earl of Lothian was created Marquess by William of Orange. The second Marquess, a major-general in the army who served in Marlborough's campaigns, was the first to come to Westminster as a Scottish representative peer; and from that time the family, intermarrying with the English nobility, sent a wide succession of its members to the service of Church and State at home and abroad, with soldiers on the whole predominating. His father, Lord Ralph Kerr, who began his military career as a cornet of horse in the 10th Hussars, ended it in the Curragh Command as a major-general.

On his mother's side he was as English as on the other he was Scottish. Lady Anne Kerr, daughter of the 14th Duke of Norfolk, traced her ancestry to that first Duke who descended directly from Edward the First, King of England, and from Philip le Hardi, King of France, and became Lord Admiral of England, Ireland and Aquitaine only to fall on Bosworth Field, faithful against many warnings to Richard his King and the cause of York. She was a woman of great character and charm, to whom her son was most deeply attached, and she brought all the glamour of English history to reinforce that of his Scottish descent.

For all this emblazoned background there was never any pride of rank about Philip Kerr. The home near Edinburgh in which he was brought up was simplicity itself, and strongly religious with that touch of Puritan austerity which the air of Scotland seems to impart to the Catholic faith. His sensitive mind always bore the mark of that early training. He was remote in spirit from material things, and throughout his life religion was the mainspring of his being. Even in early

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youth, when he found at Oxford to his deep surprise that men who were clearly not lacking in the Christian virtues were utterly undisciplined in their ideas and beliefs, he was an explorer and a pilgrim, interested in all the thickets of human mind and society but with a vision set upon that distant City for which all human idealism, from Plato and Augustine down to our own time, has laboured and yearned.

Thus, while he donned the trappings of rank with mixed amusement and pleasure when, fairly late in his career, they came to him, he wore them very lightly as a life-tenant whose main interests were elsewhere. His mind was always at work upon the ways of men, the ideas they live on, the goal to which they are bound; and from very early days he travelled in thought, as he travelled in body, with a probing, questing, analysing gaze which held an unshaken faith in the ultimate splendour of human achievement, though far too sincere to overlook the existing slime. He might indeed have said, like Tennyson's *Ulysses*:

I am a part of all that I have met;
Yet all experience is an arch wherethro'
Gleams that untravelled world whose margin fades
For ever and for ever when I move.

And in that spirit he reached in his latter years a firm conviction that the world is moving towards a free and civilized life in which men of every nation and race will share. The conditions, he said in his Burge Memorial Lecture in 1935, will only be established when enough citizens of national states, while retaining their full autonomy in national affairs, are willing to form themselves into a world nation for common purposes, to enter into that organic and indissoluble bond which is the foundation not of a League but of a Commonwealth of Nations. . . . When there are enough 'elect' men and women of this kind in the world, there will arise that city, foreshadowed in Revelation, in which there is no more war, because the Glory of the Lord is the light thereof, and the former things have passed away.

It is a far cry from the turbulent Scottish marches and the civil strife at Bosworth Field to such a faith as this; but the strength and reality of it, combined with an intimate grasp of what the world as it is unfortunately is, gave a range and depth to his political thought which are rare in these un-

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certain times, because it made in him a concord of religious belief and political ideal. It was no ordinary spirit which won the confidence and admiration of men so diverse as Mahatma Gandhi, President Roosevelt, General Smuts, and Mr. Lloyd George.

II

He was a strikingly handsome boy with vivid, inquiring eyes and a clear-cut sensitive face when he arrived at New College from the Oratory School at Birmingham in 1900. Brought up in the strict discipline of his faith, he found himself confronted there, like an innocent abroad, with a freedom of thought foreign to the atmosphere in which his schooldays had been passed. But his own mind had a swiftness and a penetration which enabled him to hold his own in any company, and he took his First in History without blunting its edge by premature toil.

His first move thence into the great world was to South Africa, where he took up the post of Private Secretary to Sir Arthur Lawley, then Lieutenant-Governor of the Transvaal, who had served under his father, Lord Ralph Kerr, in the 10th Hussars. But he soon became absorbed in the group of young men who, like Sir Arthur himself, were working under the guidance of Lord Milner for the reconstruction of South Africa as a whole. Indeed his particular sphere, which included the Secretaryship of two important South African Commissions and constant attendance on the Inter-Colonial Council when it was formed, took a wider range than that of some of the others.

Lord Milner's 'Kindergarten', as they were called, were a band of brothers who shared a common base in the Moot House at Johannesburg, and exercised their extremely varied wits upon the knotty racial and constitutional problems bequeathed to the four Colonies by the war. It was clear when Lord Milner left South Africa and Lord Selborne succeeded him, and still more when a change of Government from Conservative to Liberal at the heart of the Empire had given responsible government to the Free State and the Transvaal, that the rivalry of the Colonies, each set upon its own

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interests, and also the bitter racial feeling left by the struggle, were leading the whole South African community into a state of chaos which might engender another and still more bitter war. This contingency the young Moot set itself to study, with much regard for the wisdom of Alexander Hamilton and for the experience of other parts of the Empire, such as Canada and Australia, where federation was an accomplished fact. Their business, as they conceived it, was to diagnose the disease and point out its probably fatal consequences, if a cure could not be devised.

Philip Kerr had already given proof of his political quality as Secretary to an Indigency Commission appointed to deal with the problems of 'poor whites'. In the course of the months occupied by their work, which involved travelling all over the Transvaal and also to Cape Town to take evidence, members of this Commission had realized that their guileless young secretary was not only leading them all by the nose, but leading them rightly. The theory of South African society was that all forms of drudgery were relegated to the coloured man, and all forms of skill were to be reserved to the white man. The Commission were faced by the fact that while all the skilled labour for a great industry like the mines was imported, a dangerously large proportion of the white population born in the country who had acquired no skill would not think of touching unskilled labour and had no means of earning their livelihood. It was Philip Kerr who, from the accumulated mass of evidence before them, pointed out that drudgery is the school of skill. If, as in South Africa, or the Southern States of the U.S.A., the white man born in the country would not soil his hands with drudgery, he could not acquire skill and must join the ranks of the poor white or the mean white. The Commission found in evidence that coloured men were forcing their way across the caste line, were acquiring skill, were being employed as skilled labourers but often at unskilled wages. Philip Kerr drafted a Report which all signed unanimously. It became a milestone in the study of the colour question. Twenty years later Mr. Jagger, when a member of the Union Government, had the Report reprinted at his own expense.

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He had also been assistant to Mr. Robert Brand, who was Secretary of the Inter-Colonial Council which controlled the Transvaal and Orange River Colony railways under the High Commissioner. The native question, that is, the relations of black and white, was the fundamental reason for South African Union; but the problems which forced the question of union to the front were those raised by the separate railway systems of the four colonies. Philip Kerr was given the task of writing a memorandum upon them, and once again produced a masterly document. This was in due course appended by Lord Selborne to the Memorandum published over his own initial in which he showed that the South African colonies must drift back into internecine war unless they united in time.

The next task of the group was to get this argument adequately studied by both races throughout South Africa. For this purpose they started to organize Closer Union Societies in the Orange River Colony, the Cape, and Natal as well as in the Transvaal. It was at this juncture that Sir Abe Bailey decided to join the movement, to supply it with funds, and to equip it with a monthly organ to expound its views. There was no paper or magazine which went all over South Africa, or through which a South African point of view could be put as contrasted with the local colonial view. *The State* was founded to fill the gap, and Philip Kerr was appointed editor. He made of it the most important factor in creating the public opinion that carried the union through. Most of the group returned to England when this had been achieved.

Philip Kerr had a mind which never stood still. He was always breaking new ground, and he found it next in the wider problems of the Empire, which seemed (like South Africa before the union) to be moving steadily towards war. It seemed essential in these circumstances to found a periodical which would present a regular account of public events throughout the King's Dominions, written with first-hand knowledge, and entirely free from the bias of local political issues. This review was also to provide a means by which the common problems of the Empire could be discussed, and *in primis* to set out those problems for all to understand. *The*

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Round Table was founded accordingly, once more with Sir Abe Bailey's generous support, and published its first number in November, 1910. Philip Kerr was editor, and threw himself into the work with unremitting zeal till 1916, despite a grave illness which nearly took his life in 1914. He went as Private Secretary to Mr. Lloyd George at the change of Government in 1916.

In the course of those six years he wrote much on imperial problems; but the most original and commented on of his articles were studies of international affairs. Of these his first on 'Anglo-German Rivalry' is really astonishing for its grasp of the coming struggle. 'There is', he wrote, 'an eternal conflict here', and he begged his readers to appreciate both the strength and the menace of German thought.

Where two such peoples are set up over against one another, none can tell what the outcome will be. Let us hope that it will never be put to the crude test of war. But in considering our measures for the defence of the Empire it is well to remember what the Germans think. If ever it comes to a struggle between them and us, they are confident of victory. They believe that they embody the vital civilization of the day. Their philosophy, as they say, is less material than the Anglo-Saxon, more robust than the French. Their worship of art—especially music—their relentless pursuit of knowledge, their readiness to sacrifice themselves for the good of the State, are all marks of a dominant people. The Anglo-Saxon world, they point out, is full of the talk of disarmament, of peace as the supreme necessity of the time, of material well-being as the central aim of collective activity. Such a creed, they say, is bound to go down before the idealism of Germany. For it is a conflict between people who value their ideals above their lives, and a multitude which rates its life above all else. They believe that the Anglo-Saxons are not capable of that self-mastery which will give them the unity and strength to resist assault, and that the selfish individualism of the nations of the Empire is as powerless to resist their worthier system as was the nerveless civilization of Egypt to withstand the onward march of Rome.

This article was published in 1910. Few statesmen had then grasped the issue with such clearness, four years before war broke out; and Philip Kerr was still a young man of 28.

Of his next phase, which kept him for four and a half years, from 1916 to 1921, at the centre of affairs as right-hand man to Mr. Lloyd George, it is harder to write. The work of a Private Secretary is absorbed in the achievements and failures

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of his chief; and his individual contribution to the process is necessarily veiled. But Mr. Lloyd George in the speech which he made in the Commons at his death paid generous tribute to the responsible assistance which Philip Kerr gave him during those momentous years, and I cannot do better than quote what he said:

Mr. Philip Kerr was my constant comrade throughout the whole of that very dark, anxious period, and I wished for no better comrade or more stout-hearted. His deep spiritual placidity was unshakable by any events, and he was very cheerful at the worst moment. He was a good comrade in the black-out.

He was a man of remarkable abilities. As the Prime Minister stated, the depth and the breadth of his intellectual capacity impressed some of the greatest men of that day—Clemenceau, President Wilson, Venezelos—that galaxy of great men. They were very impressed with Philip Kerr and treated him, not as a Prime Minister's secretary, but as if he were an emissary to the Conference, and a very important one. But the basis of his character was deeper than his capacity. His abilities were consecrated and inspired by his deep faith. He was intensely religious, but never flaunted it; he was intensely religious without bigotry, without intolerance and without any of the hatreds that too often mar an ardent faith. He had none of these, but was a Christian gentleman in every sense of the term.

From Downing Street he went back to journalism in 1921 as director of the *Daily Chronicle*; but control of a daily newspaper made no appeal to him, and he left it after a few months in order to devote himself to wider study and the writing of a book on *The Prevention of War* in which he collaborated with Mr. Lionel Curtis. Here again the lessons of American history were emphasized, from the solemn covenant made by the Pilgrim Fathers before their landing in Massachusetts Bay to the Declaration of Independence and the federation of the United States.

In 1925 he became Secretary to the Rhodes Trust and held this post until he took up his duties in Washington in 1939. The work was most congenial to him. It enabled him to travel widely once more in the Dominions, and it added greatly to his knowledge of men and things in America, for it took him to every State in the Union and brought him into touch with the whole range of American university life. No Ambassador but Bryce started with such a grasp of American

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habits and ideas. But his work for the Trust was not altogether continuous. It was broken by many visits to India and other countries oversea, official and otherwise, and by a short period of office in the Coalition Government formed by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald in 1931. In this he was at first Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and then Under-Secretary of State for India. He joined it as an Independent Liberal under Lord Samuel's leadership, and left it with the other members of that party in 1932 because the handling of Imperial Preference at the Ottawa Conference was held by them to be in breach of the understanding on which the coalition had been formed.

His work for India will long be remembered there. He went to the India Office in November 1932 well acquainted with the diverse aspects of the Indian constitutional question, for he had already established with the leading personalities on the Indian stage those easy and sympathetic contacts which came so naturally to him. The affairs of India were at a very important turning-point. The Second Indian Round Table Conference, of which he was a member as he had been of the First Conference, was then sitting, and the proposals which were later incorporated in the Government of India Act of 1935 were under discussion between representatives of all interests in India and of the three political parties in Great Britain. In this work he was in his element. His experience and grasp of the intricate points which must arise in the construction of a new constitution were of great value.

When the Conference adjourned he was an obvious Chairman for one of the Committees of Inquiry which had to be sent to India on specific points. Thus he spent the early months of 1932 leading the Indian Franchise Committee round India conferring in all the Provinces with the local governments and local representatives. The task of his Committee was to devise the widest possible electorate in a country in which, owing to the small proportion of the population which is literate, there are serious administrative difficulties in organizing a poll on a large franchise. It is proof of his persistence and energy that he was able to secure

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the agreement of the local governments to a great expansion of the electorate everywhere, and his good judgement has been borne out by the fact that when elections were eventually held on the franchise which he recommended, the administrative difficulties in its organization were in the main overcome.

The India Office was the only Department of State in which he ever served as a Minister and his position was a subordinate one. His stay was also short, but he earned in it the affection of his subordinates and a respect for the originality of his views which, according to his habit, he would express striding about his room with a bowler hat well on the back of his head. After his resignation in September 1932 he continued to take a close interest in Indian affairs. He was a member of the Indian Joint Select Committee and took a prominent part in the debates on the Government of India Bill in the House of Lords. He paid a further visit to India on his own responsibility in 1938 in the hope that he might assist the negotiations then proceeding for the establishment of the Federation contemplated by the Act of 1935, and he might well have played a greater part in Indian affairs had his life been prolonged.

All this meant hard work and constant travel, but it by no means exhausts the tale of his activities. In the same years, for instance, he paid more than one visit to Germany; for there was a period before German rearmament became a decisive fact when he still believed that some reconciliation might be found between the British Commonwealth and the Reich. It was part of his gift of catholic sympathy to appreciate the German point of view, and he was always conscious, as his last speech shows, of the mistakes which had been made—in handling rather than in substance—at and after the settlement of Versailles. But on this point he seemed to most of his friends to be following marsh-fires, and they rejoiced when German action brought him face to face again with the realities which he had grasped so clearly back in 1910.

The next and final phase was his Ambassadorship at Washington. He had sloughed his 'pro-German' specula-

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tions long before the day when Lord Halifax offered him that high responsibility, as an interview which he gave to the National Broadcasting Company last July showed:

Mr. Pearson. Lord Lothian, have you by any chance ever met Hitler?

Lord Lothian. Yes, five or six years ago, and he said to me much what he said a few nights ago before the Reichstag, that he was very anxious that Germany and England should work together. I think he meant it. But what he really meant was that we should rule the world together as two branches of the Germanic race, treating all other nations as dependencies. But we just cannot come to terms with Hitler on his basis. . . .

Long, indeed, before he crossed the Atlantic on his memorable enterprise he knew that the great struggle between Good and Evil, Freedom and Slavery, must soon be renewed; and he went to Washington fully conscious of all that might hang upon his diplomatic foresight and skill. Everything that he believed in was once more to be tested by fire, and he was happy in the opportunity of working directly and decisively for that understanding between Commonwealth and Republic which had long been in the forefront of his political hopes and ideals.

III

That is the outline of his life; but it gives no picture of what he was to those who knew him, still less of what he might have been, had a few more years been given him; for behind the journalist, the politician, the statesman, there was a remote but enchanting spirit which lived on hidden heights, for ever wrestling with the riddle of things.

The first impression he made upon those he met was one of natural friendliness and ease. His manners were the same for everyone, and he was always frankly interested in human beings, with a swift and certain insight into their point of view and a warm desire to show it was understood. So marked was this capacity that in his salad days his views of any situation were often over-coloured by the standpoint of the last country he had been visiting; but as he aged he shed the greater part of this chameleon quality and kept his wide sympathies without allowing them to sway his judgement.

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This interest in human beings extended to everything about them. He would go through a pile of newspapers like a trained journalist, not reading line by line, but absorbing page by page and dropping instinctively on the new or specially significant. For the human show in all its variety was a constant delight to him. Thus it amused him to announce on his last visit home from Washington that there were now only two important industries in America, munition and 'beautition', and thereupon to launch into a description of the ubiquitous beauty parlour with its stimulating influence upon the looks and bearing of American women of every kind. 'If you wish to know your world, inquire into its luxuries and frivolities.' Philip Kerr would have echoed that sentiment, for he found endless entertainment and enlightenment in all the lighter aspects of life.

It follows that he was by nature a good mixer. He was always somehow in intimate touch with the feeling surrounding him, in India and Africa quite as much as in the purlieus of what is called Western Civilization, and he would fall into conversation with anyone he met without a touch of aloofness or constraint. This is an unusual trait in travellers from this island, and it certainly went a long way to endear him in places where the Englishman is generally suspected of pride and racial superiority. In fact, he had not the slightest touch of either. All men were good company to him, whatever their race or language or colour; and it says much for his intuitive sympathy with all kinds and conditions of them that he managed to pluck out the heart of their mystery without ever learning to speak any language but his own. His French was frankly as bad as it could be; he had no German; but he caught the idiom of other peoples' thought and feeling despite his ignorance of the tongues they spoke.

In this way he was brother to all the world. It was no common Englishman who moved amid the polyglot throngs in Paris when the Peace of Versailles was being negotiated or who talked with Indian leaders and sat upon the ground with Mahatma Gandhi, eating rice from a bowl. But his heart unquestionably went out most warmly to the people

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of the United States. He loved the exhilaration of the air they breathe, the newness of life, the freedom, the equality, the abounding confidence. Next to his own country and very close to his affection even for that, they were part of all his hopes and ideals. He believed in the greatness of their destiny, and could speak with extraordinary frankness to them.

I am bound to add, in this sincere account of his lovable personality, that he was supremely untidy of habit. Constant reprobation from candid friends, renewed with vigour throughout his life, failed to produce the slightest improvement; and to the end the clothes he wore were a reproach and a misery to all who cared about him. His father, an unmistakable soldier, had never managed to put him through the hands of an efficient sergeant-major, and he was hopelessly indifferent to 'spit and polish' of every description. Always, when he paused to think, his hand would sweep backwards and comb-like through his tousled hair, leaving its confusion worse confounded. The tidiness of well-groomed people was to him indeed a kind of magic, and he could not understand how it was achieved.

Fortunately, it did not matter, or mattered only in a happy way; for Americans in particular approved his attitude towards dress and all his unconventionality. Clothes in any case have no importance for those whose looks have a natural attractiveness like his. His inborn grace and unassuming dignity shone through their highly creased and shapeless integument and were perhaps the more endearing because of his indifference to his outward covering.

This, then, was the man who talked to the press and faced the cameras and was, so far as they could manage it, recorded by them. Press photography by word and picture is now a highly developed art, and he received his full meed of its attentions during the last phase of his life. But the depth and range of his capacities were never widely known, though they would surely have become so had he but lived to bring the weight of his new experience to bear upon the problems that are rising like mountains from the earth-shaking disturbance of this war.

IV

The inner man below this attractive surface had great reserves of talent and even greater charm. For high political leadership in particular his equipment was unusually strong, since he had two striking qualities, not often so signally combined. One was a determination to get at the truth, whether in the world about him, or in the world of mind and feeling. Meredith's well-known lines:

Ah, what a dusty answer gets the soul
When hot for certainties in this our life!

had no meaning for him. By early training and by his whole cast of mind he had to have a reasoned explanation of man's place in the universe to uphold and guide him. The other quality was equally strong and resolute. It was a deep determination to fight for the light as he saw it and to make it prevail. He was not one who merely loved to watch the show or to play some decorative part in it. He was a man with a mission and, for all his easy ways, a fighter bent on victory.

To this rôle of combative leadership he brought great endowments, both practical and imaginative. On the practical side one of the most marked was his quick grasp of detail and natural business capacity. He had a remarkable gift for analysing, measuring, and dealing with the immediate needs of the moment in any situation; and no problem, however complex, escaped his probing and simplifying touch, if he chose to give his mind to it. Typical of this was his gift for giving simple and practical advice on everyday subjects, from the tipping of waiters to the upkeep or driving of a motor-car. In this latter field he was an expert with a sensitive touch upon the engine he controlled. A true child of his age, he took intense delight from speed, and was so good a judge of it that his driving was always safe.

Closely knit with this love of rapid movement was the joy he found in scenery all over the world. It was not the detail which attracted him, but the broad expanse of a sea-scape or a countryside. In his youth, when motors were comparatively rare and beyond his means, he was wont to cover

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great distances on a motor-cycle, arriving suddenly at the houses of his friends with his baggage strapped to the pillion and little of it at that. He must in those days have travelled most of the country from Land's End to John o' Groat's. Ski-ing too was much to his fancy, since by that means also—with some disasters, it is true—he could career gloriously under lofty peaks and radiant skies across wide spaces of snow. It was natural therefore that he should have taken enthusiastically to travel by air. He would descant upon the joys of such travel from Calcutta to Croydon and back; for the beauty of nature which appealed to him was always that of the far-spread, changing scene.

But while his instinct for detail never seemed to be caught by the individual character of birds or trees or flowers (in gardens he was always for broad effects), it kindled infallibly over anything to do with the life of man. Human achievement in all ages was meat to him, and more particularly those buildings which are history, eloquent of a country's life and mind. Thus he loved the great houses of England and Scotland, and devoted much thought and energy to means whereby they might be preserved. The seat of his own family at Newbattle in Midlothian he gave, soon after he inherited it, to be a Residential College for Adult Education in Scotland, and he has left his lovely Elizabethan house at Blickling to the National Trust with the treasures it contains.

Another highly practical endowment was his power of work, for he combined rapidity with untiring industry. He gave thought and pains to everything he undertook, in games as well as in affairs, and he was always thorough. He became, for instance, a scratch golfer with uncanny accuracy from any point within reach of the green largely because in his parents' home at Woodburn he had made a small green in the middle of a field and was wont to practise approaches to it from many distances and all points of the compass. What concerned him was the substance rather than the form, and this was manifest in his writing; for his meaning was always crystal clear despite a breezy indifference to style and a certain shapelessness in his sentences. He was in fact a business rather than a literary man in his methods of

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expression; and though he loved the beautiful pictures which he inherited late in life, music was the only art which always had a deep meaning for him. His reading was vast, but mainly in prose; his ignorance of Shakespeare was almost equal to his knowledge of the Bible, and he loved poetry rather for its content than for its beauty.

He might thus have gone a long way in finance or commerce, had such a career attracted him. But he was contemptuous of money-making, though he could have made it with ease, and lived happily on a frugal income till the Lothian estate descended to him. In the world of affairs his major interest was in politics. Though he was in spirit a visionary, he was in practice a statesman bent upon the service of mankind; and in this rôle, for all his inborn idealism, his instinct for the practicable never deserted him.

Allied to this practical capacity was a passion for probing and analysing what was in men's minds. He was, as he showed at Washington, an extremely sound judge of popular feeling and far too much a realist to overrate the wisdom of the mass or to indulge in wishful thinking about the way things would go. So marked indeed was this trait that he often seemed an arrant cynic in his appraisement of a situation or of men. It was said of Clemenceau that while he loved an abstract France, he despised all living Frenchmen. Philip Kerr had a vivid faith in the high destiny of mankind and an instinctive fellow-feeling with any man or woman who was sincerely given to its service; but he had no illusions about its present state or inherent weaknesses, and he was wont to analyse the motives and methods of its political and religious leaders, including those of his own friends, with a ruthless and most stimulating candour. He was himself a knight-errant of the purest water, but neither the rosy mists of the ideologue nor the shady arts of the humbug had any chance of deluding him. This mixture of case-hardened realism with convinced and imperturbable idealism is rare enough, and it lay at the root of the exceptional political gifts which came to real fruition only in the last phase of his life—at Washington.

The appointment of Ambassador there was unquestionably

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of all political posts the one best suited to him, and he was ripe for the service when it was offered him. Up to the age of 57 he had never held a position of independent responsibility. His closest friends had always felt anxious that he should do so, since they were convinced that he would not reach the full achievement of which he was capable until his brilliant talents were concentrated by high and independent office upon some single and absorbing obligation. They had lamented on that account his resignation from Mr. MacDonald's Government in 1932, though they could not but admit the cogency of his reasons for it, and they welcomed with enthusiasm the news that Lord Halifax had asked him to serve as the King's representative in the United States. War between the Empire and Germany was becoming more and more inevitable, and it was certain that the relations between the Empire and the great Republic would exercise an immense and perhaps decisive influence upon the impending struggle. Philip Kerr was therefore taking up a mission of critical importance, and there was anxiety in many quarters about the appointment of one who had never been tried in any such post before.

He soon showed, however, how exceptionally qualified for the task he was. His wide and ready sympathy with views of every description, his knowledge both of Europe and the Empire, his long familiarity with and affection for the American nation, his grasp of American political life, his profound and unswerving faith in the democratic mission of the English-speaking world, and above all his uncommon gift for getting on to easy and outspoken terms with men and women of every description—all these things combined with the charm of his attractive personality to make of him an envoy brilliantly suited to that great diplomatic office. His friends felt confident of his success, and splendidly he justified them.

Neither the tremendous sweep of events nor the answering movements of public opinion through which he had with foresight, tact, and fidelity to explain his country's standpoint and advance its vital interests need description here. They are engraved in every living memory. He arrived in

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Washington in August 1939, and came home for a brief visit in October 1940.

That visit was no holiday. He had much official business to transact, and he was also determined to see all he could of the effects of the struggle and of our people's reaction to it. He was therefore constantly on the move, and left again for Washington after a short three weeks, refusing to allow himself a breathing-space while so much depended upon the attitude of the re-elected President and the new Congress towards the conflict at sea and the hanging menace of invasion.

It is plain that he overtaxed his strength, which, never robust, was being threatened by lack of sleep and some trying symptoms of illness; but constant in his beliefs, he refused to give these warnings the least consideration and was indeed unaware of the grave threat to his life which underlay them. His mind was set upon two things and two alone—the immediate duties of his post and, beyond that daily round, the promise of the faith by which he lived and moved and had his being. The stuff of all great witnesses to faith, the saints and martyrs of all persuasions, was in him, and fear would not have turned him from the race he meant to run, even had he known the sudden end awaiting him.

So he went back, tired in body but confident in spirit and more deeply convinced by what he had seen that the hope of many generations of humankind would rest upon the promptness and completeness of Anglo-American co-operation. The terrible importance of the time factor had come home to him with redoubled force, and he was pondering his last great speech at Baltimore for some weeks before the date of its delivery. Undefinably, but very markedly, his judgement had gained in weight and solidity from the lonely charge which had been laid upon him, and he was prepared to trust it to an extent which showed a sense of intimate touch with the American people. There can be few examples of ambassadorial speech so frank, direct, and homely.

I have endeavoured [he said in his closing sentences] to give you some idea of our present position and dangers, the problems of 1941, and our hopes for the future. It is for you to decide whether you share our hopes and what support you will give us in realizing them. We are, I believe,

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doing all we can. Since May there is no challenge we have evaded, no challenge we have refused. If you back us you won't be backing a quitter. The issue now depends largely on what you decide to do. Nobody can share that responsibility with you. It is the great strength of democracy that it brings responsibility down squarely on every citizen and every nation. And before the judgement seat of God each must answer for his own actions.

He was unable to deliver this speech himself. Three days before the date of it he was stricken by the illness which had been hanging over him, and he had to direct the senior member of his staff to represent him. One of his last utterances was to ask whether the speech had been made. He died a few hours later.

V

This last speech of his at Baltimore and the Burge Memorial Lecture, which has already been quoted, contain between them the gist of his political beliefs. They also show how closely related those beliefs were to his religious convictions. For his inmost essential being the heart-beat of a living faith was indispensable; and he had found the kernel of such a faith like a sudden revelation in Christian science during the dangerous illness that fell suddenly upon him in 1914. He had no use for the politics which are all earthy of this earth nor for a religion bent solely upon salvation for the individual soul in the world hereafter; and in his mind political and religious belief came to be more and more closely intermingled. He held that men should strive to build the Kingdom of Heaven here upon this earth, and that the leadership in that task must fall first and foremost upon the English-speaking peoples. In the working out of that faith he, like Blake, could never cease from mental strife nor let his sword sleep in his hand. For the Kingdom of Heaven as he saw it with the eye of faith could not be built solely of higher wages, model dwellings and insurance against ills that flesh is heir to. It must rise upon a wider and clearer realization in the State of the spiritual and moral bonds between man and man, and it could only be reached when men were ready of their own free will to set bounds upon their individual and national freedom for the service of each other and a greater common-

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wealth. However acute the realism of his mind in probing international affairs, however deep his conviction that force alone could keep the evil down and allow the good to grow, however keen his awareness of the dangers and difficulties still to be overcome, his steps were lighted and his course inspired by this vision in which his religious faith transfigured his political ideals. Lord Rosebery once said that great Englishmen have nearly all been 'practical mystics', deeply convinced that mankind, in Wordsworth's words, is 'greater than it knows'. Philip Kerr was sealed of that tribe from boyhood onwards.

Living by this inner light, he was always a little remote from the pains and pleasures that constitute three-quarters of the life of most women and men. He took instinctively to children, and children to him; he needed the companionship of women as much as that of men; and yet he never married nor had a real home. He made friends with every dog he met; but he would not keep dogs of his own. When the historic seats of the Lothian family descended to him, he valued and enjoyed them greatly; but with a curious detachment and restlessness which prevented him from settling in any of them for long. He seemed to be afraid lest private possessions and affections should tie him down, and in his latter years he shunned discussion of his beliefs with all but those who shared his views, as though Matthew Arnold's apostrophe to the Scholar-Gipsy were ringing in his ears:

But fly our paths, our feverish contact fly!
For strong the infection of our mental strife,
Which, though it gives no bliss, yet spoils for rest;
And we should win thee from thy own fair life,
Like us distracted, and like us unblest.
Soon, soon thy cheer would die,
Thy hopes grow timorous, and unfix'd thy powers,
And thy clear aims be cross and shifting made;
And then thy glad perennial youth would fade,
Fade, and grow old at last, and die like ours.

Who can blame him in a world so full of 'light half-believers in their casual creeds'? His faith was his very being; and he wished to keep it sharp and shining, not blunted by material comfort nor rusted with the acids of debate.

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This strongly willed detachment, and the Scholar-Gipsy elusiveness that went with it, contrasted with the candour of his mind, the naturalness of his talk, the kindly malice of his humour and the breadth of his sympathies, somehow lifted him above attacks of temper and gave him an imperturbable serenity of mind. He was the most equable of companions as well as the most human, loving good companionship and giving it back in generous measure. No one could have been happier at his own fireside had he chosen to have one, and he could make himself at home in any gathering, looking without guile into all the minds he met, however sensitive, however senatorial, however draped and decorous, and getting on to terms with them. But he was always also in some sense withdrawn, like a traveller enjoying the cheer of a wayside inn, as ready to leave as to enter its fireside glow and human company.

This may seem like the instinct of escape, the introversion of the monk or hermit who shuns the life of men in order to make his own soul for eternity. But there was no such shrinking from the fray in Philip Kerr. It is true, of course—so far as the mechanics of life are concerned—that he could hardly have been the tireless knight-errant he was had he not broken away from the public service in 1921 and had he also not been free as a bachelor without ties to ride abroad upon his eager quests as the spirit moved him. But whatever path he might choose, it could never be that of the man who turns his back on the world and meditates his own salvation. Religion was fundamental in him; he had won to his creed through agonies of doubt and fear; and when it came to him as a spark from heaven, it fused with his political thought to make of him, not a monk, but a crusader and a pioneer. He meant to work and strive through all his days in the restless world of men for the faith which shines through his last testament at Baltimore. He had in truth a mission, consciously, tenaciously, unfearingly pursued; and he gave his life for it.

VI

He is gone, but he enriched his friends with all that he had and was, and nothing will dim for them his endearing

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charm, his vivid mind and the keen crusading temper which carried him so gallantly to his untimely fall. The eager spirit of his boyhood was alive in him to the end; and they will always see him striding into the unknown with his eyes upon the hills—

Still nursing the unconquerable hope,
Still clutching the inviolable shade,
With a free onward impulse brushing thro',
By night, the silver'd branches of the glade.

In the great world, also, he will surely hold an imperishable place amid the leaders of this age. The loss of his great influence and understanding at so grave a moment is tragedy enough; the sudden withering of all the further promise that had ripened in him is sadder still. So young and strong of mind, he would assuredly have risen to yet higher office in the State had further years been given him. But there is a wealth of consolation in the fact that he was able to render to the English-speaking democracies in a momentous hour the splendid and devoted service for which his whole life was a preparation and he himself of all his generation the most fitting instrument.

How the swift but steady march of opinion, even since his death a few short weeks ago, would have stirred his pulse and kindled his fire! He was far too much a realist to believe that the British and American peoples would come together to defend and develop their way of life against a world in arms if each were not convinced that its own national future was at stake. He also knew that great results are not secured in the passage of a few stormy years, and that the two peoples would have to be ready, even after victory, to maintain together the armed and organized force which is necessary, in Mahan's striking phrase, 'to give moral ideas time to take root'.

It is, after all, national character, springing from millions of simple homes, that counts in the end, as Britain has bravely shown. 'If a country', wrote F. S. Oliver, 'will not stand up for its rights, it must surely lose them. The spirit of giving in is the most fatal disease to which nations are subject, and it is apt to attack them, like a cancer, when they have arrived

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This strongly willed detachment, and the Scholar-Gipsy elusiveness that went with it, contrasted with the candour of his mind, the naturalness of his talk, the kindly malice of his humour and the breadth of his sympathies, somehow lifted him above attacks of temper and gave him an imperturbable serenity of mind. He was the most equable of companions as well as the most human, loving good companionship and giving it back in generous measure. No one could have been happier at his own fireside had he chosen to have one, and he could make himself at home in any gathering, looking without guile into all the minds he met, however sensitive, however senatorial, however draped and decorous, and getting on to terms with them. But he was always also in some sense withdrawn, like a traveller enjoying the cheer of a wayside inn, as ready to leave as to enter its fireside glow and human company.

This may seem like the instinct of escape, the introversion of the monk or hermit who shuns the life of men in order to make his own soul for eternity. But there was no such shrinking from the fray in Philip Kerr. It is true, of course—so far as the mechanics of life are concerned—that he could hardly have been the tireless knight-errant he was had he not broken away from the public service in 1921 and had he also not been free as a bachelor without ties to ride abroad upon his eager quests as the spirit moved him. But whatever path he might choose, it could never be that of the man who turns his back on the world and meditates his own salvation. Religion was fundamental in him; he had won to his creed through agonies of doubt and fear; and when it came to him as a spark from heaven, it fused with his political thought to make of him, not a monk, but a crusader and a pioneer. He meant to work and strive through all his days in the restless world of men for the faith which shines through his last testament at Baltimore. He had in truth a mission, consciously, tenaciously, unfearingly pursued; and he gave his life for it.

VI

He is gone, but he enriched his friends with all that he had and was, and nothing will dim for them his endearing

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charm, his vivid mind and the keen crusading temper which carried him so gallantly to his untimely fall. The eager spirit of his boyhood was alive in him to the end; and they will always see him striding into the unknown with his eyes upon the hills—

Still nursing the unconquerable hope,
Still clutching the inviolable shade,
With a free onward impulse brushing thro',
By night, the silver'd branches of the glade.

In the great world, also, he will surely hold an imperishable place amid the leaders of this age. The loss of his great influence and understanding at so grave a moment is tragedy enough; the sudden withering of all the further promise that had ripened in him is sadder still. So young and strong of mind, he would assuredly have risen to yet higher office in the State had further years been given him. But there is a wealth of consolation in the fact that he was able to render to the English-speaking democracies in a momentous hour the splendid and devoted service for which his whole life was a preparation and he himself of all his generation the most fitting instrument.

How the swift but steady march of opinion, even since his death a few short weeks ago, would have stirred his pulse and kindled his fire! He was far too much a realist to believe that the British and American peoples would come together to defend and develop their way of life against a world in arms if each were not convinced that its own national future was at stake. He also knew that great results are not secured in the passage of a few stormy years, and that the two peoples would have to be ready, even after victory, to maintain together the armed and organized force which is necessary, in Mahan's striking phrase, 'to give moral ideas time to take root'.

It is, after all, national character, springing from millions of simple homes, that counts in the end, as Britain has bravely shown. 'If a country', wrote F. S. Oliver, 'will not stand up for its rights, it must surely lose them. The spirit of giving in is the most fatal disease to which nations are subject, and it is apt to attack them, like a cancer, when they have arrived

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at the meridian.' Philip Kerr had faith in British character, kindled and reinforced by what he saw and recorded upon his last visit home. 'We are not quitters', he said. But he knew that Britain, however steadfast, could not command the necessary strength alone, and he also feared the relapse to which both the British and American democracies have shown themselves prone after a great effort and a triumph won.

The plain truth [he said in his last speech] is that peace and order always depend, not on disarming police, but on there being an overwhelming power behind just law. The only place where that power can be found behind the laws of the liberal and democratic world is the United States and Great Britain supported by the Dominions and some other free nations. The only nucleus round which a stable, peaceful, democratic world can be built after this war is if the United States and Great Britain possess between them more aeroplanes, ships of war and key positions of world power . . . than any possible totalitarian rival. Then, and then only, will political and industrial freedom be secure.

While, then, he believed implicitly in our victory in this war, he did not believe that the danger to our free system of life would end with it. 'This war', he said, 'is not a war between nations like the last war. It is more a revolution than a war.' He saw no hope of eradicating by a single effort the plague that has spread so virulently upon European soil; and he prayed that the democracies would not forget the terrible danger of counting on the mobilization of their reserves of strength only at the eleventh hour—a danger from which they have not yet saved their souls alive. Character is strength, but it must not be manifested in emergency alone.

Lo, Strength is of the plain root-virtues born;
Strength shall ye gain by service, prove in scorn,
Train by endurance, by devotion shape.
Strength is not won by miracle or rape.
It is the offspring of the modest years,
The gift of sire to son, thro' those firm laws
Which we name Gods; which are the righteous cause,
The cause of man, and manhood's ministers.

Those lines are from Meredith's *Odes in Contribution to the Song of French History*—an amazing group of poems of which the third, named 'France, December, 1870', has a terrible bear-

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ing upon France in her agony now. Let us then, he would urge, remember to what depths democracy has fallen elsewhere. In the new era which is breaking through the storm neither patriotism nor pacifism, he said, will be enough. Let then the British Commonwealth and the United States, like two great pillars, uphold the firmament of freedom together and let them keep watch upon its gates with unchallengeable power, that its future may be secure.

No man on the British side has done more than he to interpret that writing on the wall and to bring its meaning home to the simple men and women upon whom the issue depends. The National Cemetery at Arlington is far from the deep secluded peace of his homes at Blickling in Norfolk and at Monteviot under the Cheviot Hills, where many generations of his people lived and died; but the resting of his ashes with the great American dead in that tomb across the sea is a symbol of his faith in the common destiny of the two great peoples whom he sought with all his heart to save and serve. There lies a Pilgrim who strove to bridge the deep Atlantic and its stormy air, not to make of it a gulf between the future and the past. The surge of free opinion is moving irresistibly forward on the course which he desired; and whatever great men may hereafter lead it on, his name will assuredly be honoured as that of a far-sighted pioneer. He served both nations nobly, and he will not be forgotten either west of the Atlantic or east when historians compile the chronicle of these tempestuous years.

EDWARD GRIGG

SPEECH AT THE PILGRIMS' FAREWELL DINNER
TO LORD LOTHIAN, AT THE VICTORIA HOTEL,
LONDON, 13 JULY 1939

THE relations between the United States and Great Britain are more complicated than those between any other two foreign countries. On the one hand, there is an underlying unity which springs from the fact that a large part of the population of the United States derives from these islands, that we both speak the same language, are students of the same literature, and are deeply penetrated by the political and legal ideals represented by Magna Carta, the Bill of Rights, and free institutions. On the other hand, all this can be very deceptive. There are few countries which as nations are more different. There is the wide gulf caused by the American Revolution, which Americans still vividly remember but which we tend to forget. There is the fact that much of its population derives from all the other countries of Europe, which makes the United States sensitive to any suggestion of special association with Great Britain and anxious to avoid taking sides in European quarrels. There is the central fact that for 150 years our national histories have followed profoundly different courses, both in internal and foreign affairs.

Even the Irish question is not easy to put in perspective, for, while the powerful and talented Irish community in the United States has been politically opposed to Great Britain, it also derives from these islands, and Ireland itself is a mother country of the whole English-speaking world.

I conceive it, therefore, to be my task, not merely to represent the policy of the British Government to the Administration in Washington and vice versa, but to increase the mutual comprehension between the two peoples, which is much better than it used to be, but which is still by no means achieved. Nobody has done more to explain his own country to the British people than Mr. Kennedy, the present American Ambassador. It is marvellous what his frankness and energy have done in this way in less than two years.

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I have often visited the United States and I always feel fifteen years younger when I land in New York.

If I may outline the impressions I have formed of Anglo-American problems, I think, broadly speaking, that people in this country still tend to overestimate the unity between the two countries because they are but two halves of the English-speaking world, while in the United States the tendency has rather been to overestimate the differences between them. Most Americans do not realize the extent to which we in Britain have become Americanized, in the best sense of that word, in the last twenty-five years—not merely in the mechanization of our private lives but in our social and democratic life.

There is often a slight sense of surprise on the other side of the Atlantic when Englishmen do not manifest the manners, the hauteur, and the social exclusiveness of the Victorian age. I think that the visit of Their Majesties and their simplicity, naturalness, and humanity in dealing with the constantly changing problems of a long and arduous tour has done a great deal to correct this still lingering impression, and to make Americans realize that we are much more ordinary nineteenth-century folk than we are sometimes thought to be. I desire to add my own tribute of gratitude for the extraordinary welcome which was extended to the King and Queen by everyone in the United States, from the President and Mrs. Roosevelt to the crowds which showed so clearly the warm-hearted friendliness for which they are famed.

Americans, too, in the past have always been suspicious of British Imperialism. To them it represents the old spirit of George III against which they rebelled. Here, too, the appearance of the King and Queen in North America, as King and Queen of Canada, enthusiastically welcomed by their independent Canadian subjects, must have brought home to the American public the immense transformation which has taken place in the old British Empire into a Commonwealth of self-governing nations since the War.

In my travels I have gained the impression of one important cause of misunderstanding between public opinion here

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and in the United States which we ought to realize, because it can be remedied; that is, the difference in the practical working of their democratic institutions. In Britain political life centres in the House of Commons. Every political issue is sooner or later brought to the clash of argument and personality in a debate before those who have the power to make and unmake governments. The House of Commons is the real barometer of British political opinion.

One contributory cause to a misreading of our political life in the United States is that there is no Press Gallery for the American and foreign Press in Parliament. They have to apply for a strictly limited number of tickets like ordinary visitors every time they want to attend. I believe that in these days it is essential that the real drama of the House of Commons, the assembly which wields the ultimate power in Britain and which daily cross-examines Ministers on every aspect of public policy, should be made visible and audible daily, as of right, to those who could interpret it in their own language to their own countrymen. The principal difficulty is that of space. I greatly hope that this deficiency will shortly be remedied, and I understand that there is already a movement in the House of Commons itself to see that proper facilities are provided for the reporting of its proceedings abroad.

The political life of the United States, on the other hand, operates in quite a different way. It does not centre in the clash of argument and personalities in high debate in Congress as it does here for the reason that the Executive and the Legislature are independent and co-ordinate powers, and never meet in debate at all. Nor is there a question hour. Nor are there constant by-elections. If there is a conflict between the President and the Legislature—and deadlocks are frequent—they are resolved, if they are resolved at all, by an appeal to public opinion, by a technique with which we are quite unfamiliar. That is why it is so difficult for people in this country who have not lived for any length of time in the United States to follow American politics. They do not know where to look.

And that is partly why, to the annoyance of so many

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visiting Americans, though the Press prints a lot of American news, so much of it is concerned with Hollywood, the gangsters, and the other high-spot human interest stories, which are the sideshows of American life but do not reveal the deep and steady currents which finally control. For the British audience American political life requires interpretation as well as news. If the editors and proprietors of the British Press would instruct their correspondents always to interpret the American news they send over, I believe there could be a rapid increase in the comprehension of the United States in this country.

The most common British misinterpretation of the United States lies in the field of external policy. My own impression is that it is a profound mistake to think that the United States is not interested in international affairs to-day. I travelled all over the United States at the beginning of this year, and I found a deep concern everywhere. My impression, from talking to all sorts of people, is that public opinion in the United States has become more and more alarmed—as the numerous polls of public opinion have shown—that if a new world war broke out it would be extremely difficult for her, however hard she might try, to keep out indefinitely if she is to protect her own vital interests. Foreign affairs therefore have recently become an issue of vital importance to everybody, to men and women in the Middle West no less than on the seaboard. For they feel that if war comes it would not only immediately affect their businesses and their prospects of employment, but in the end it might affect their own lives and those of their children.

But if American public opinion is deeply interested in the international situation, it certainly looks at it from a very different point of view from ourselves. I do not pretend to be an expert in the subject, but I think we can understand the American point of view best by remembering our own attitude of splendid isolation during most of the last century. So long as the Channel protected us as the Atlantic protects the United States, the first instinct of our people, as it is to-day of the American people, was to keep out of the maelstrom of the wars between the contending nations of Europe. More-

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over, the United States intervened in Europe with decisive effect some twenty years ago and the outcome has not been such as to encourage them to repeat the experiment.

But if the United States, by reason of geography and racial composition and history, stands apart from the problems in which, because of propinquity, we are necessarily immersed, I believe that the United States is thinking, and thinking deeply, about the future. I think it is as concerned as anybody else that a way should be found of preventing these steadily recurring cataclysms from descending again and again, to engulf mankind in violence, hate, and ruin. I find as much serious study and earnest thought about these questions in the United States as is found here at home. They have as much information, perhaps more balanced information, about Europe than we have, and they still have the advantage of standing back a little from the picture and seeing it, perhaps, in better perspective than we do.

It is essential that we should realize that the United States is going to think out these ultimate problems for itself, and by itself, and that it is going to reach somewhat different conclusions from ourselves. We should concede to the United States just the same freedom and independence as we claim for ourselves. We in this country are not much influenced by foreign opinion and propaganda. Nor are the people of the United States. It is the very core of the democratic faith that each individual, and each nation, has the sole responsibility of deciding about its own policies and acts in its own untrammelled mind and conscience.

What really unites all the democracies to-day is not a common policy but the fact that we are all confronted by a challenge to our deepest instincts and convictions. It is no use entering into recriminations as to who is responsible for the mess we are in. The truth is that in a shrinking and mechanized world we are faced by new menaces, new problems, which we have never conceived of before. The old remedies will no longer work. We have to find new ones appropriate to the world in which we live.

I have no idea what conclusion the United States will ultimately reach. But it is to me inconceivable that a great

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country which has worked so relentlessly and so successfully for the extension of human freedom, which is so independent-minded, which has successfully constructed the first democratic and federal constitution, which fought a civil war under the greatest democratic leader the world has seen to expel slavery and maintain unity, which intervened decisively in the last great struggle for human freedom twenty-two years ago, should not have a contribution of its own to the solution of these vast problems.

We also should have our own contribution to make, for it is certain that the method by which the modern constitution of the British Commonwealth of Nations has overcome the anarchy of national sovereignties, while preserving national freedom, has lessons of its own for mankind. If we each go our own way humbly and in obedience to reason and conscience, exchanging counsel when we can, I have no doubt that these nations, which, with France, have done more for human freedom than any others, will find the way whereby war can be ended on earth and individual and national liberty preserved.

For some years Great Britain has been in a condition of confusion and doubt. This is not the time nor the occasion to estimate the mistakes made by British policy since 1920: we must now leave history, which sees events in a perspective denied to us, to decide. But in the last year there has been a profound change. Great Britain has once more found itself. We have made up our minds that there can be no future for civilization unless two at least of its basic achievements are preserved—individual freedom and national freedom. We do not believe that there can be any way forward so long as one nation claims the right to send its secret police into another's country, and to confine its noblest citizens in prison and concentration camps, for being loyal to their own country. Nor do we believe that any true international order can be built except on the foundation that every developed people has the right to autonomy and self-government.

This is not encirclement. It is fidelity to two of the essential corner-stones of civilization itself. Everything else is open to discussion. But these two principles are essential. Once

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they are accepted by other nations, I believe the door to settlement will be opened and the risk of war will begin to disappear.

But if these two principles are to be challenged, and challenged by force, I think this nation has made up its mind to resist their further destruction by force. And in the last year it has certainly done an immense amount to prepare itself for resistance. I hope that American friends realize this: for I am sure that it is true. And I am certain that in the end moral principle is more powerful than bayonets and guns and that when, in addition, it is backed by bayonets and guns it will inexorably and speedily prevail.

TO THE PILGRIMS OF THE UNITED STATES
25 OCTOBER 1939

I FEEL peculiarly grateful to-night to The Pilgrims of the United States for organizing this remarkable gathering of welcome here to-night. I feel to-night what I said to a corresponding gathering of Pilgrims in London, that that gathering, also a very remarkable gathering, was not merely a testimonial to myself but an evidence of the esteem and affection which they felt for the United States, so I feel that here to-night you also are assembled in affection and respect for my own country.

I am no stranger to the United States. From the day I first landed here in 1909, I have had what I might perhaps be allowed to call an affectionate admiration for your people, your statesmen, and your institutions, and there is no position I could have coveted more than that to which I have been appointed, if it had not been for the war.

I might almost say that I have an hereditary interest in the ambassadorship of Great Britain to the United States, because two of my relatives have held it before me. The first was Lord Lyons, who was the uncle to my mother, who held it during the Civil War, and I see he is described in the book as 'a bachelor', 'of sedentary habits', and a most astonishing thing at that period, a teetotaller.

I share two of those habits, though I am afraid I am a golfer rather than a person of sedentary habits.

The other was one whom you will mostly remember, I am sure, with profound affection, and that was Sir Esme Howard, who died only a few weeks before I started. I am glad to say that he was able to give me his blessing before I started and told me to send his most affectionate respects and regards to —I was going to say a very large proportion of the individuals of the United States.

Most of my predecessors in recent times have been, like myself, not professional diplomats. There are two views which can be held as to whether a professional diplomat or a person in public life makes a better ambassador to the

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United States. Both kinds have had extremely distinguished careers over here and my principal alarm when I look at their careers is as to my own deficiencies and the extreme improbability of my being able to reach the eminence which they reached in their time.

There was Lord Bryce whose book on the American Commonwealth, I believe, is still a standard authority. There was Lord Grey who, in addition to being a very famous statesman, was one of the most profound lovers of Nature and who has written some of the most beautiful things about Nature. There was Lord Balfour who was here a short time and also was a great parliamentarian and philosopher, as well as a great diplomat.

I cannot forbear to tell you one story about that remarkable man, which I told to The Pilgrims in London. As you know, he was a great debater, and his debating method was always to weigh very equally and fairly the arguments on both sides and then, in a few impressive and decisive sentences, to come down heavily and finally on the side that he thought was right. On one occasion when he was Prime Minister, after a long discussion in the Cabinet in the morning, the Cabinet came to a particular decision. In the afternoon the Prime Minister went down to the House of Commons to state the view of the Government. He followed his usual practice and weighed both sides equally fairly, and then came down on the wrong side.

Mr. Walter Long, who was sitting beside him on the bench, pulled him by the arm and whispered in one of those asides which are so easily heard in the House of Commons, 'Arthur, don't you remember, we decided the other way this morning?' at which Arthur Balfour, with his bland smile, turned to him and said, 'Ah, my dear Walter, that only shows that you should never make up your own mind until you have heard your own speech.'

Then we had Lord Reading, with whom I worked for many years, a most remarkable character and career. He ran away as a small boy to go to sea before the mast. He ended up not only as one of the leading advocates in England but as Lord Chief Justice, as British Ambassador to the

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United States, as one of the most eminent of our financiers, and as Viceroy of India.

Then we had Sir Auckland Geddes, who, in addition to a distinguished career here, is now a copper magnate.

But the professional diplomats were no less distinguished. Sir Cecil Spring Rice had the most difficult task of steering our relations with the United States during the early period of the last war and when he left, he wrote what I think is one of the most beautiful poems—it was almost a hymn—in the English language. I think it has been set to music by Sibelius and I remember it was played and sung in Saint Paul's at the Jubilee ceremony of King George the Fifth and Queen Mary.

I have already mentioned Sir Esme Howard. And now, at last, I come to Sir Ronald Lindsay, who held this office, if I may say so, with the greatest of distinction for nearly ten years. I do not think anybody ever represented my country with such wisdom, steadfastness, dignity, and strength as did Sir Ronald Lindsay.

These people set, as you will admit, a high standard and they will be a hard company for me to follow. I am glad to think, however, that at any rate, partly as a result of their exertions, the mutual comprehension between our two countries is much better than it used to be. There is certainly a far greater knowledge of the United States in my country to-day than there used to be. That is partly because the reading of American history now has a definite place in our colleges and schools, and partly because we have become much more Americanized in our lives than probably most of you realize. I think that you on your side have come to understand how greatly our life has been democratized from the formalism of the Victorian Era. I think that was brought home to you when you saw our King and Queen only four months ago. Both they and we are immensely grateful to you for the wonderful welcome you gave them. You certainly came very rapidly to recognize the simplicity of character, the genuine humanity, and the spirit of public service which have endeared Their Majesties in so short a period to their own subjects.

In some ways, I regret that I have to speak to you to-night. It is very difficult for a belligerent to address a neutral,

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especially at this time when there is legislation pending before Congress, without saying something that may be taken or misunderstood as an attempt to interfere. But it is an old-established custom that shortly after his arrival at his post, every new American Ambassador has to address The Pilgrims in London, and that every new British Ambassador has to address The Pilgrims in New York. It is an inescapable duty and it takes no account whatever of the political circumstances of the country in which the speech has to be delivered.

So I am here, and being here it is not possible for me not to talk about the subject which is uppermost in the minds of everybody throughout the whole world to-day, and that is the war, what it is about, how it will end, how it can be prevented from recurring.

This war is a far more portentous thing than the last. It is likely to leave the world far more deeply transformed, for better or for worse, than the War of 1914. The ideological conflicts go deeper; the armaments are more gigantic; there is far less confidence than there was twenty years ago in the strength of our western institutions and in democracy, as we have known it, as being the simple specific for all government ills.

Immense as were the changes wrought by the years 1914 to 1918, the present war, if it lasts as long, is likely to end in transformation far more profound.

I have been told that if I talk on so dangerous a subject as the war, I shall be accused of propaganda. Listen to this extract which was sent to me from a Midwestern paper, probably written by someone with a strong sense of humour:

'In manner, Lord Lothian combines the charm of a cultivated Briton with a degree of democracy not usually associated with his fellow countrymen. We suspect he will make no public speeches and issue a minimum of public statements. Above all, he will be careful never to hint that England expects every American to do his duty. The subtlety of his propaganda will consist of the fact that there will be no propaganda. In short, a very dangerous man.'

But may I say this about propaganda: There is all the difference in the world between the publicity characteristic of the democracies and the propaganda of totalitarian states.

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The very basis of democracy is faith in the capacity of the individual for responsible decisions. The success of democracy, in the long run, depends upon the wisdom, the public spirit, and the self-control of the individual citizen. A democracy invites publicity. It wants to hear all sides. Publicity is necessary to it. It must hear all sides, for unless it does so, it cannot judge properly. The great difficulty about democracy is that the citizen is expected to arrive at conclusions about public affairs, not in the calm of the library or the court-room, but amid the clamour of opposing parties, the propaganda of selfish interests, and constant appeals by politicians of the baser sort to selfishness and greed.

But it is precisely the capacity to distinguish between truth and error in these difficult circumstances which gives to the citizen of a democracy that wisdom and strength of character, and ability to think for himself and herself, which are absent from those who are taught that their highest duty is to obey the command of authority.

As a fellow democrat, therefore, I feel that we have the right, indeed the duty, to tell you our story, to explain to you and to all other democracies what we are doing and why we are doing it. But having done that, we feel that it is for you and for you alone to form your own judgement about ourselves and about the war. That is, of course, your inalienable right and that is what we mean when we say that the British Government conducts no propaganda in this country. We want to tell you the facts as we know them and our point of view about the facts. But having done so, by our own democratic principles, we are bound to leave you perfectly free to formulate your own judgements about them.

The propaganda of totalitarian states is necessarily on a different basis. For by the law of their own being, they do not entrust the final decision on public policy to their own citizens. They set out to manage their thinking for them, as they think, in their own interest, through the official control of the schools, the universities, the press, the radio, and the 'movies'. It is a central purpose of totalitarian countries to manipulate and control opinion at home, and that fact, I think, necessarily colours the purpose of their foreign propaganda also.

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So I am going to brave the critics and talk to you about the war. Indeed, if we British and you Americans, indeed all the free peoples, cannot speak frankly to one another about what is deepest in our hearts and what most affects the future of the world, then there is no possibility of arriving at a sane policy for peace. I believe that you want us to talk to you frankly and honestly about these vital things, as we certainly want you to do also.

This war, of course, is the outcome of the mistakes of the past. All wars are. There has been endless discussion about who is responsible for this war. We can all draw convincing pictures of how our neighbours have contributed to the re-appearance of world war, just twenty years after the termination of the war which was to have ended all wars. My country must certainly bear its share of blame, but if we are to see the picture clearly, I think we must admit that no nation and no statesman can establish a clear alibi for what is now happening. A little humility sometimes does not do any harm, for as Christianity makes clear, humility is one of the portals to the discernment of the truth.

I want, in the first place, to say a word about the Treaty of Versailles. It has now become the fashion—Dr. Goebbels has made it the fashion—to attribute every evil to that unfortunate treaty. There were certainly defects enough in it, but it is absurd to attribute all our troubles to it. A very distinguished German democrat only a few weeks ago said that the rise of Hitlerism was due 30 per cent. to the Treaty of Versailles, 30 per cent. to the inexperience of Germany in democracy, and 30 per cent. to the great depression, which began in your country in 1929. I would put it somewhat differently. Hitlerism is, I think, the child of Bolshevism out of universal economic nationalism.

But do not let us lose sight of the ideals which moved us in those remarkable years from 1914 to 1920. We then entered an epoch in which an old international world began to die and a new world began to be born. Before 1914 international relations were governed by the old diplomacy. It was regarded as natural and right that every nation should think of its own interests and should feel no responsibility for any

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other nation. But in 1914 the democracies, which had previously concerned themselves only about their own internal affairs, began to think and to act about international relations also.

Democracy, as Thomas Mann has so brilliantly said in his great address, 'The Coming Triumph of Democracy', by the law of its being inevitably gives its allegiance not to power politics but to moral ideals. It may not always live up to these ideals; it certainly often does not do so; but they are the stars by which it guides its life.

So immediately the democracies became actively concerned with the international problem, they proclaimed their own democratic ideas about it, and this is the idea which they proclaimed, which emerged during that period for the first time. Mankind is a community, not an anarchy of warring races and nations. War is fratricide. Nations as well as individuals have the right to life, liberty, and happiness. Backward peoples have the right to security against exploitation and to be guided towards self-government. The status of all nations, great and small, should be equal before the law. The strong and the powerful nations have no greater rights than the small and the weak. And the establishment of a true reign of law over the nations is the only remedy for war.

Those were the ideals which moved us, which underlay the war and the Paris Peace Conference of 1919, however imperfectly they may have been realized. They are, I believe, eternally true, and they were expressed with immortal eloquence by your own President Wilson.

But the democracies had not thought out what the establishment of this new world implied. They did not realize that the new world of which they dreamed was incompatible with universal national sovereignty or with many other features of the old order. That is one reason, though by no means the only reason, why the war has returned. That is why it is still in doubt whether the break-up of the old order is going to end in another plunge backward toward barbarism or a new advance to freedom.

But contrary to most people's opinion, the victorious democracies did, in the Versailles Treaty, apply their own

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principles to the territorial settlement of Europe. They did give to every nation in Europe the right to a separate autonomous existence. They did create security for the rights of minorities. And they did set up a mandate system to give protection to backward peoples, and none of those things had ever been done before.

The number of free nations in Europe rose from seventeen to twenty-six, including the terribly delayed freedom of Ireland. People criticize the frontiers drawn at Paris; admittedly, some of them were not very good. But at the worst, they were only a few miles wrong. What Herr Hitler is challenging at bottom is not the frontiers made at Versailles, but the whole democratic conception of international life. His remedy for frontier mistakes is not to correct them, but to annihilate Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Poland by violence, in order to establish a Nazi Empire controlled by a secret police which destroys not only national but individual freedom within it.

So I beg you not to be misled by this ceaseless attack upon the Treaty of Versailles. The greatest mistakes made at the Peace Conference were not political but economic. Few seemed to realize the inevitable consequence of dividing Europe, or for that matter the world, into a vast number of almost water-tight economic compartments, and then of imposing on these states fantastic reparations and other forms of intergovernmental indebtedness which it was quite impossible to pay across these economic frontiers without disaster for all.

Fundamentally, my countrymen are fighting in this war for the preservation of some of these new values, which the democracies declared during the last war. I am not sure that our ultimate goal is yet visible, any more than we were able to see in 1914 what we came to see, largely under American inspiration, in 1918. But there are, we feel, two points which are clear. The first is that there can be no basis for a lasting peace in Europe which does not give to all the nations of Europe, including Czechoslovakia and Poland, their right to autonomous freedom and which does not clear the Gestapo out from among them.

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The second is that we shall establish some security against constantly renewed wars of aggression and against the kind of situation in which Herr Hitler has been able to annex a new country by violence, by threats of violence, or by war, every six months. We feel that an armistice now would simply play into the hands of aggression. It would give him six months in which to decide where his next advance was to be made, to reorganize his preparations in the right direction, to get the democracies demobilized, so that the initiative in attack would pass back to him and he could make his next pounce before they are ready to meet it. No stable peace can be made on that basis.

I am sure there is no desire in my country to impose another dictated peace on a prostrate Germany or to take from her any lawful rights. On the contrary, I think there is a clear conviction that only through a peace negotiated with a government they can trust, can Germany and all other nations also attain that legitimate place in Europe and the world which is the only possible basis for a lasting peace.

But let there be no mistake. We feel that we to-day are fighting for some of the vital principles upon which a civilized world alone can rest, a world in which both the individual and the nation will be free to live their own lives in their own way, secure from sudden attack and destruction. There we stand. We can do no other. And unless I misjudge my fellow countrymen, there we shall stand until that cause is achieved.

But you constantly ask, what are your ultimate peace aims? What are your ideas about the world you want to see established if you win the victory? We can understand that request, because the way the war will end will affect you as well as us. To-day, the war in Europe is our concern as a belligerent, and not yours. We understand your attitude of non-intervention better, perhaps, than you think, because for many long years splendid isolation was our own attitude to the constant wars and struggles of Europe—so long as the Channel was as wide as the Atlantic and so long as nobody threatened to be able to dominate Europe and so cross it.

I have told you our answer so far as it has been formulated

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up to the present. We think we are entitled to ask you the same question. What do you think should be the settlement we should aim at after the war—the kind of settlement which will end the risk of another world war in another twenty years? At bottom, we are fighting a defensive struggle. We are trying to prevent the hordes of paganism and barbarism from destroying what is left of civilized Europe. We are putting every nerve into the task. We are up to our necks in action. But you are still outside the maelstrom. You get more and better news than any country under censorship in Europe. You can see things, perhaps, in a better perspective than we can.

The war is following a different course from that which any of us suspected, and the peace to which it ought to lead is likely to be different from what we have expected also.

As I always tell my fellow countrymen, it is inconceivable to me that the United States, which has done already such immeasurable things for human freedom, which in the past has produced the greatest democratic leaders the world has ever seen—George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Alexander Hamilton and Abraham Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson—that your country, every fibre of whose tradition spells faith in the perfectibility of man, in his progress and freedom, should not have your own contribution to make to the solution of the greatest problem that has ever presented itself to the genius of mankind.

To-night, however, pending answers from higher authority, I am going to venture on my own responsibility to make my own contribution to the discussion of the kind of world we want to see after the war. I am going to appeal not to theory but to experience. I would ask your consideration of certain remarkable facts about the nineteenth century.

The nineteenth century, or rather the century from 1815 to 1914, was a century without world war. That was a very striking and significant fact. It was the only such century since the break-up of the Roman Empire, or at least of the medieval world. Three-quarters of your history as a nation has been spent in a totally unusual era, an era without world

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war. The eighteenth century, the seventeenth century, and the sixteenth century were periods of almost continuous world war. During the whole epoch from the first Spanish settlement in America, America, both North and South, was the scene and subject-matter of world war. Your own destiny turned upon the outcome of the Seven Years War in Europe from 1756 to 1763, upon whether the British Navy was able to drive the French fleet off the seas and so allow the British and Colonial forces to take over Canada and free the Mississippi Valley. And that victory was the prelude to that 'incident', to use the now fashionable term for war, in which you drove King George the Third out of the United States because he unwisely insisted on trying to make you pay some of the cost of that war. Whatever may be the historic merits of that dispute, your independence undoubtedly gave a new birth of freedom to the world.

Even after that and during the Napoleonic Wars, you were in constant danger, and in 1812, you were drawn once more into a world war. And then the picture changed. For a century there was no external war in North and South America, and no world war. It was not until 1914 that the era of world war began again. It engulfed you in 1917, and now in 1939 it has already sucked in the British Commonwealth and has come near enough to you to make it one of your serious preoccupations as to how you are to avoid being sucked in yourselves also.

Now, this era of world peace did not happen by accident. It was the result of definite policy and action. That is why I think it worth while to consider how this century of prosperity and of freedom from world war was actually achieved. The reason was because you and we, almost unconsciously, created a rudimentary but, in the circumstances of the time, none the less effective system of world order, both political and economic. We did not attempt to prevent all war, but we prevented world war, and that was the essential thing. Local wars only do limited damage; it is world wars which destroy nations and civilization.

Your part in the system was the Monroe Doctrine. The underlying idea of the Monroe Doctrine, as you will all recall,

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was originally suggested by Canning as a joint Anglo-American policy. It was eventually proclaimed by President Monroe, quite rightly I think, as a unilateral policy of the United States.

The Monroe Doctrine was fundamentally a strategic doctrine. It aimed at preventing European political intervention in, and the transference of European wars to, North and South America, and it put the American Navy behind the independence of the American republics, as the sanction behind the doctrine. The principle of the Monroe Doctrine is now, I am glad to see, becoming a Pan-American policy as well as a declaration of American doctrine.

But the Monroe Doctrine did not in practice stand alone. It could not have achieved its purpose alone. You and we, each of us, carried out independently our own share of the original proposal, the Canning proposal.

The Napoleonic Wars had taught Great Britain the value of sea power and that her own freedom and that of the whole overseas world in which she was interested depended upon her having an invulnerable base at home, a paramount navy, and naval stations all over the world. This meant that no European or Asiatic power could cross the oceans and attack or annex overseas territories against her will unless they had a navy powerful enough to challenge hers. We had a kind of Monroe system of our own, reinforcing yours but extending it to overseas territories like South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand, or countries like India which could not easily be reached overland.

It was this double system which was the power behind the nineteenth-century peace. So long as it was unchallenged, not only were we and you safe from attack, but there could be no world war. There could be local wars. There was the Franco-Prussian War, the war for the unity of Italy, the Chino-Japanese and the Russo-Japanese Wars, your own Civil War, and there were other local and less important conflicts. But there was no world war until there arose in Europe a power which was able to challenge Great Britain at sea, as Germany challenged it by the building of the new German Navy at the beginning of this century.

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But there was another element, not usually recognized in the nineteenth-century peace system, which explains why it was a century of unexampled prosperity and why the industrial revolution was able to develop without world war. This element was economic and consisted of three parts. The first was that there was in effect a world currency based on gold. This was initiated by the Bank of England in co-operation with other central banks with which, in due course, the United States co-operated, and created a stable basis for world trade. The second was that during most of the period the world was either free-trade or relatively low tariff. The conditions therefore existed for that free movement of capital and labour all over the world which was the secret of the prosperity of the Victorian Age and which prevented much international rivalry and friction.

The third was that there was practically free immigration in the new world. This relieved those population pressures in Europe which, with present-day extravagant economic nationalism, have been, in my judgement, the main cause of the rise of the dictatorships. And in this, the United States, by opening its doors to millions of immigrants from Europe, played the principal part and gave, in the melting-pot, the true answer to the present racial doctrines of totalitarian Europe.

This nineteenth-century system of world peace can be criticized, of course, as being arbitrary and dog-in-the-manger. Europe, indeed, has frequently criticized the way in which the Monroe Doctrine reserved the vast areas and unexampled resources of the new world for the relatively small population which has been fortunate enough to live there. And the British Empire, as you all know, has been a target of ceaseless abuse as being a purely selfish imperialistic concern, some of which no doubt it has deserved. But the fact remains that while both Great Britain and America profited enormously from the nineteenth-century system, so did the rest of the world.

Just consider the record of that remarkable but most unusual century. Because world war was prevented, because the system was administered by two powers which, on the

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whole, were liberal and democratic, because it had sound economic foundations, it saw unexampled expansion of human freedom and prosperity. The North and South American continents were left free to develop without risk of external war, without having to maintain burdensome armaments or to impose those restrictions on individual freedom which are inevitable when war comes near.

The British Commonwealth became transformed into a commonwealth in which not only Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and Ireland have taken their places as independent, equal nations, but every other part—India, Ceylon, Burma, Jamaica—and many other peoples are now far on the high-road to self-government.

During the century, the system of individual initiative based on private profit, known as capitalism, raised the standard of living in the western world fourfold between 1815 and 1914. And towards the end of the century, democracy was learning how to remedy by old age pensions, high and graduated taxation, unemployment and health insurance, and so forth, many of the evils which unrestricted capitalism had begun to bring forth.

Naval power was the sanction behind this rudimentary system, but because navies cannot move on land, it was a system which made for peace and freedom rather than for domination. The best proof that on the whole and with occasional lapses, the system benefited the world was that at no time was there any serious thought by the other nations of trying to upset it.

But in 1914 this marvellous and most unusual era came to an end. I cannot discuss at length the reasons for that. I will only say that one main reason was that Europe, during the century of world peace, failed to find any basis within itself for its own federal unity, as you and Canada and Australia have done. It remained an anarchy of suspicious and economically unstable sovereignties.

But though after a century of success this rudimentary system failed to prevent another world war, it did succeed in its primary purpose of protecting the liberties of North and South America and the British and French and Dutch terri-

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tories across the seas. At the end of the World War, there was more political freedom and democracy in the world than there had been before. And to-day, early in the second great war of the century, it is precisely the future of this rudimentary system of world freedom which is at stake. If the barrier now erected by Britain and France goes, the victor will control the seas, the bases upon which that control has rested will necessarily pass into his hands, and the system behind which you and we have lived on the whole so freely and so prosperously for a hundred and fifty years will disappear.

Nor do I propose to-night to try to discuss why the League of Nations, which was erected to replace the nineteenth-century system and which was intended to give security for national freedom everywhere, has so rapidly and at the moment so completely broken down. There are many reasons, some of which I have already mentioned. I would only add that one main reason was the failure to distinguish between world problems and the internal problems of Europe, as Monsieur Briand saw. Some form of economic federation, perhaps even of political federation, at any rate for part of Europe, is, I am sure, a necessary condition of any stable world order.

I venture to give you this brief analysis of the history of the nineteenth century because I believe it contains lessons which are well worth our study to-day. Conditions, of course, are different. It will not be possible to reconstruct now the old nineteenth-century system in its old form, but, at the end of the war, when we come to consider how world war, though not perhaps all war, can be prevented from happening again, I think it will be worth while for us to bear in mind the factors which underlay the wonderfully successful experience of the nineteenth century.

There has been a tendency among some writers in this country to regard the present war as a struggle between France and Great Britain on the one hand and Germany on the other hand, with diplomatic manœuvres going on in Eastern Europe on the side. Repeatedly I see it said that this is a mere contest for power between rival imperialisms. I think this is to misunderstand what is at stake. The real

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question is whether power is to be behind a liberal and democratic kind of world or a totalitarian kind of world.

One of the mistakes the democracies made after the last war was to think that peace would come in the main through disarmament. Disarmament on a large scale, of course, is essential, but peace comes from there being overwhelming power behind law, as you found when you went to deal with the gangsters within your boundaries.

The real issue in this war is whether there is going to be power behind the kind of world in which France and the British Commonwealth and the democracies of Scandinavia and you yourselves believe, or far more relentless power behind the kind of world in which National Socialism and Communism believe. That is the real conflict, and not the conflict between rival imperialisms.

Let me give you another reason for thinking that this war is not a mere struggle between Britain and France and Germany. I have often besought my fellow countrymen to study the United States. I find it a most fascinating and inspiring study. May I urge you to study the modern British Commonwealth? I think you will find it equally fascinating. It is something quite different from what most Americans believe. It is no longer an empire in the old sense of the word. It is a vast system of international relationships containing nearly four hundred and fifty million people, of many different races, religions and colours, at different stages of development, yet living together under conditions of order and peace, and with ever increasing freedom and responsibility. It would not make for order or peace if all those peoples became independent sovereign nations and so increased the anarchy of the world.

It is full of problems. India is the greatest of them. The root difficulty in India is to find a stable form of responsible self-government for a sub-continent containing over three hundred and sixty million people, speaking several languages, with grave Hindu-Moslem tension reminiscent of the Protestant-Catholic struggles in Europe, and with almost a third of the country governed by historic medieval princedoms. These adjustments cannot be settled in a day. Opinion in

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India is almost wholly on the side of the Allies and against the totalitarians. Listen to what Mahatma Gandhi, who is the leader of Congress, said about this war:

‘My personal reaction towards this war is one of greater horror than ever before, and yet my sympathies are fully with the Allies. Willynilly, this war is resolving itself into one between such democracy as the West has evolved and totalitarianism as it is typified by Herr Hitler.’¹

There are difficulties at this moment in India as to the share of responsibility which the Indian parties are to have in the conduct of the war, and certain responsible ministries in the provinces have resigned. These difficulties, I believe, will be adjusted sooner or later by common sense and good will.

The attitude of the independent nations of the Commonwealth—Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, and Ireland—has been made clear by their own Prime Ministers and Parliaments, free from all interference from Great Britain. The record is there for all to read, both of their decision and what they propose to do about sending troops or airplanes to the Continent.

It is exactly the same with the Colonial peoples. The legislative councils, native rulers, and representative bodies everywhere have declared their support of the allied cause as against totalitarianism. It is a striking tribute to their confidence in the modern British Commonwealth system, and the essence of that system to-day is that the innumerable problems which arise within it, problems of race and colour and civilization, of self-government and responsibility, must be settled by free discussion and by compromise around a table and not by resort to violence or by the domination of one race over all the rest.

It is by no means a perfect system; it is full of defects; but I think it is evolving along the right road. For many years its peoples have been moving steadily towards greater freedom, and as such it bears a clear analogy to your own Pan-American Union.

All these peoples, scattered all over the world, have now

¹ From an article written on his way to Simla to see the Viceroy (*News Chronicle*, 13 October 1939).

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taken the same fundamental attitude to the great issue which is at stake in Europe. That, I think, is a remarkable thing, and it shows the immense gulf between British imperialism, as it is sometimes called to-day and I think wrongly, and the imperialism of the totalitarian world.

In this war we have the confidence that our cause is going to prevail; we have no doubt about it. It may take time, as it took time in 1914. It took even longer in the days of Napoleon. Our confidence is not based only upon a calculation of the vast human and material resources which, with ever increasing speed, are being mobilized to fling into the struggle—you saw only a few days ago how the flying youth of the Commonwealth is to be trained in Canada—it is even more because they are convinced that the right is on our side.

It was one of the favourite sayings of Lord Baldwin that you can do anything with bayonets except sit upon them. That is Hitler's dilemma to-day. The farther he goes the more he wants to rest, but until he abandons the bayonet, he will never find any place on which to sit down.

In the long run, if we resist evil, if we are prepared to make sacrifices for the right, the right always wins. But nothing lasting can be constructed on brute force alone, for underneath us all are the everlasting arms of justice, mercy, and love.

I think we feel something more. In all the great crises of history, the issue is between a great advance or a great set-back. World crises mean that the old order is perishing and that something new must be born. That is the position to-day. The old world is perishing and a new world is seeking to be born. Though we do not see the way clearly, yet all of us, I believe—Frenchmen, Canadians, Australians, New Zealanders, and South Africans, and peoples of many other lands—believe that something greater and more noble in order and freedom, and not something brutal and vile, must be born out of the sacrifices of this time. That is the hope and the faith in which they all, old as well as young, now are prepared to lay down their lives.

The early years of the last war were years of defeat and

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failure and disaster. Yet in those days was written a poem¹ which sets forth very well, I think, the hopes of that terrible time. It proclaims very well also, I think, the spirit of the Allied armies to-day.

You that have faith to look with fearless eyes
 Beyond the tragedy of a world at strife,
And trust that out of night and death shall rise
 The dawn of ampler life,

Rejoice, whatever anguish rend your heart,
 That God has given you, for a priceless dower,
To live in these great times and have your part
 In Freedom's crowning hour;

That you may tell your sons who see the light
 High in the heaven, their heritage to take:
'I saw the powers of darkness put to flight!
 I saw the morning break!'

¹ By the late Sir Owen Seaman.

SPEECH AT THE NEW YORK HERALD
TRIBUNE FORUM, 26 OCTOBER 1939

THIS fourth session of the Herald Tribune Forum is devoted to the democratic front and what it faces. I think you will agree with me that at bottom what it faces is the problem of war. The greatest enemy of democracy is war. Democracy has got to overcome war or in the end war will overcome democracy. We still have democracy in England. There is still a free press. There is still free criticism in Parliament and outside, and I hope that that freedom will continue unimpaired to the end of the war. It is the only condition upon which we shall avoid some fatal mistakes.

But nobody who has been through war can fail to realize that the longer war goes on the more it inevitably and inexorably encroaches upon individual liberty. More and more does the State take up the time, the thinking, the energy, and the means of its citizens in the attempt to defend itself.

Women, as I see it, are always far more concerned about war than men. There is always something a little heroic about war to the man because he has got to go and sacrifice his own life; but for women, they are asked to sacrifice the lives of those they love best, and that is a far more serious and formidable thing to do.

Now peace—we have been talking about peace for twenty years. It is clear that peace will not be achieved by sentiment or emotion, by mere negation, or by mere horror of war. It will be achieved only by far more deep thinking, far more moral courage, far more resolute action than we have yet given to the problem.

What is peace in the political sense of that word? You have peace here in the United States. We have it in the ordinary terms in England, in France, in Germany, everywhere inside our communities. And we know, broadly, what peace means when we talk about it inside our own country. It means a condition of affairs in which violence is prohibited and prevented, and in which every disputed question,

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whether between individuals or sections of the community, is settled either by appeal to the law courts or appeal to Congress, so that it can be settled on the basis not of strength or violence but of mercy and justice and wisdom.

Now that is what peace is in the political sense. The problem which confronts us and will continue to confront us all until it is solved is how we can get those same principles established on the international front. There is no doubt at all about the basic principles which are necessary if we are going to end war.

Every professor of politics will tell you in every university in the world what peace means. What is difficult is to see how it is to be established on a more world-wide basis in the presence of habits of the past, of racial feeling, of national feeling, of differences in language and culture and religion and civilization. That is the problem.

But there is no difference at all about the principle upon which peace in the ordinary sense of the word must be made to rest, and I venture to suggest to you that it is worth serious thinking, far more fundamental thinking, than we have yet given to the problem, as to how the basic principles upon which peace rests should be applied, so that this hideous monster which threatens us all sooner or later can be finally exorcised from the earth.

There are four stages, if I may so use the word, in the history of the rise of civilization. There was, first of all, the rise of the City State in Greece, which discovered practically all the first principles of civilization as we know it. But it could not extend much beyond the tiny City State. Democracy could not be larger than the number of citizens who could hear the voice of a single orator. The City States of Greece could not abate their own patriotism sufficiently to form a nation, and they were destroyed and overcome by the local totalitarian ruler, Alexander of Macedon.

Then the Republic of Rome discovered how to make law universal, impartial in its application to all races and colours, and you have got the great peace established by the Republic of Rome which gave wonderful things to the world for many centuries.

At the New York Herald Tribune Forum

But Rome, like Greece, had never been able to discover the representative principle which is the secret and foundation of modern democracy, and Rome therefore atrophied at the heart because the spontaneous criticism and controversy of people were suppressed, and it died at the top.

Then you have got the representative principle discovered in the early history of England, and then it became possible to combine the reign of universal law with national unity in the Parliamentary system.

Finally, when the United States was born, you made another vast discovery by dividing the functions of government between the State and the province, you enabled the rule of law and the representative system to be applied so as to give freedom, responsibility, representation, and peace to a continent as large as the whole of Europe. That has been your greatest contribution throughout your history, and it is for that accomplishment that Abraham Lincoln asked you to fight the Civil War.

Now we are faced to-day with something larger, far more difficult. It isn't going to be solved in a day. Neither I nor anybody else can tell you how it is to be solved, but I venture to suggest to you that it is in the study of the growth of peace in the sense in which I have described, beginning with Greece, passing through Rome, then through England and other countries, and finally, the United States, that we are going to find the clue, the final clue, which at some future date, near or late, will give to the world that peace, reign of law, and liberty which we all seek more than anything else in the world to-day.

SPEECH AT FOUNDERS DAY CELEBRATION AT
SWARTHMORE COLLEGE, PENNSYLVANIA
11 NOVEMBER 1939

THE war in Europe is more and more becoming a struggle between the totalitarian and the democratic and Christian way of life. We of the liberal West are quite convinced in our own minds that the ultimate foundations of our civilization are sound. Most of us are prepared to admit that the social, political, and economic system in which we live has many imperfections, that it needs remodelling in many ways, possibly in more far-reaching ways than we yet realize. But we are sure that the basic principles on which it rests are indisputably true. These foundations are the right to individual freedom and individual responsibility, both. Our right to freedom includes those securities for immunity from arrest except for breach of law, freedom for thought and speech and writing and so forth which are embodied in Magna Carta, Habeas Corpus, and the Bill of Rights. Our right to responsibility is that implied in the phrase that government must rest upon the consent of the governed, which means that every citizen has an inescapable responsibility for the laws and government of the community in which he lives. The consequence of these two vital principles, individual liberty and individual responsibility, is that the State is the servant of the people, not the people the slaves of the State and of those who control it, as is the case under authoritarian regimes.

But let us not be blind to the strength of the appeal of totalitarianism, and of the lessons which the strength of that appeal has to teach us. The successes of totalitarianism in the last twenty years are not just the result of the peace treaties, or post-war economic distress, or of subtle intrigue, or of successful gangsterism, though these have all played their part. It is because totalitarianism in itself exercises a powerful influence, especially over youth, the nature of which, if we are to resist totalitarian imperialism, we must learn to understand.

Before I left Europe I attended a two-day conference with

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a number of Christian leaders in Europe, from Scandinavia, from Germany, from Switzerland, and from France, as well as from Great Britain. The outstanding impressions I derived from that most interesting conference were two. The first was that the power of totalitarianism over youth lay in its demand on the individual for obedience and discipline, and in its call to the individual to work and strive, not for himself or herself, but for something beyond—the community, or the dream of a perfect and classless society, or the hope of a world ordered and at peace through the ruthless, but creative, efforts of a dominant race.

The second was that the weakness of present-day democracy lay precisely in its inability to make any similarly imperative appeal. Democracy as it is practised to-day makes endless promises of more comfort, less work, more pleasures—all quite right in their own way. But it seldom makes an equivalent appeal for service and self-sacrifice. To put it in other words: democracy was right in its insistence on personal liberty and personal responsibility, but in practice the free peoples have abused the freedom it has given them by turning it, as St. Paul says, to the uses of the flesh. They have used it to pursue frivolity and ease and wealth with a deficiency of profound thinking and selfless action for the well-being of others. One inevitable consequence of that concentration on individual interests has been an equivalent concentration on selfish national interests with its resultant disregard for the well-being of humanity as a whole. Hence, the democratic world is suffering from the moral and other sicknesses which always arise from selfishness. It is suffering from the class conflicts which follow the maldistribution of wealth and its excessive use, not for public, but for private, ends, and from the wars, unemployment, and poverty which are inherent in the lawless anarchy which necessarily follows universal insistence on national sovereignty.

Totalitarianism, of course, does not offer the true solution for these evils. The failure of latter-day democracy in these respects merely explains why totalitarianism has captured modern youth in certain countries and turned them into the docile instruments of new forms of tyranny. All totalitarian

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systems suffer from the same fundamental vice. They do not merely inspire to service and self-sacrifice. What they really do is to demand, on the ground that they can produce the millennium, the surrender of the mental and moral independence of the individual to the State, or rather to the party which controls the State, and to the dogmas which it professes.

Communism, or Marxism, attributes all our modern troubles to capitalism—the private ownership of the means of production, distribution, and exchange—and proclaims that the remedy for all human ills lies in the nationalization of all such property so that it shall be used for the benefit of the community as a whole. That is an attractive and persuasive ideal. Communism, however, on the one hand minimizes the immense achievements of the liberal era, that capitalism produces even greater economic development than Socialism, that it raised the standard of living of the civilized world four-fold between 1814 and 1914 and that, while the distribution of wealth has been bad hitherto, democracy has given the citizen more individual freedom than has ever previously been known and has recently been learning how to remove the evils of the individualist system by graduated taxation, social insurance, and the whole varied programme of modern social reform.

On the other hand, Communism never explains that the Communist millennium can only be attained by the political and economic enslavement of the citizen. Socialism is not necessarily totalitarian. Our Labour Party is a Socialist party, but it is passionately attached to individual freedom and to democracy. But Communism, by its very nature, is totalitarian. Communism inevitably makes individual economic initiative—one of the most elementary rights of man—a crime, because such initiative is incompatible with any centrally planned society. Communism may produce economic equality for the mass, but it can only do so by making the rich poor, not by making the poor rich. And such accomplishments as it can claim to its credit have only been possible by creating the most privileged and autocratic ruling class—the Communist bureaucracy—the world has ever seen, yet

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constantly kept virtuous by the most ruthless 'liquidation' of all critics and opponents, within and without itself.

If Communism were ever to prevail, it would simply herald the most terrific revolutions and wars ever known to history in which mankind would struggle to get back toward that personal freedom, which it is the primary and eternal instinct of every man and woman to possess. The way forward is not to surrender to Communist imperialism, but to face fearlessly the defects of our free civilization and to remedy them.

It is the same with Fascism and National Socialism. Morally the appeal of Fascism is lower than that of Communism because Communism, theoretically at least, is concerned with the well-being of the world proletariat, while Fascism and National Socialism are concerned only with the power and well-being of a single race or nation. In practice, however, Fascism is not so entirely destructive of individual freedom as Communism. It permits some private property and economic initiative, though under strict regulation and control. But it demands the same surrender of individual judgement and conscience to the State and the ruling party. Its essential dynamic is violence, culminating in ruthless internal persecution and external war. And its only remedy for war is universal conquest so that all nations become the economic and political dependents of a new ruling race.

If Fascism were to prevail, it also would herald a new era of world war as nations as well as individuals began to struggle back toward freedom. In the case of Fascism also, therefore, the way forward is not to surrender to its brutal intimidations and violence, but to recognize the weaknesses in our free civilization and remedy them.

The task before us, therefore, is not only to check the advance of totalitarian imperialism of all kinds, but to set our own democratic house in order. It is the unemployment, the economic inequality, and the inter-state antagonisms of the democratic world which give totalitarianism its argument and its chance. If we could overcome the weaknesses of our own liberal and democratic world, so that it offered to the rest of the world a spectacle of unity, order, and peace, of equal work and sound prosperity for all, of private freedom

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balanced by universal public service, totalitarianism would soon be conquered, not by war, but by example.

The question, however, of what are the true remedies for the present distresses of the democratic world is far too large and far too controversial for me to discuss in any detailed way to-day. I would only say that the root cause of the economic troubles of the Democracies to-day is not capitalism but the passion for national sovereignty which makes it impossible for the individualist system to function as it ought. There are, however, two further points, which I think are worthy of your consideration.

The first concerns the democratic solution for Europe's problems. Europe, though the smallest, has also been the most vital of the continents. It has produced almost all the finest elements in modern civilization, and its most vigorous creative and talented peoples. You over here are, in the main, an extension of European civilization. But it has also been the most constant fountain of war—and wars which have constantly developed into world wars. If Europe could only conquer war and find a basis for unity within itself, the whole world would have taken an immense step forward. I have therefore been following as closely as I could the discussions which have been going on in the Press and Parliament in Great Britain about the kind of peace to which we look forward at the end of this war.

There is no sign of faltering about our primary aims, as declared by the Government, that any lasting peace must secure liberty to the peoples of Europe and establish guarantees against the restless power politics of war and threats of war. But underlying these immediate ends there has been a rapidly growing conviction that unrestricted national sovereignty is the primary reason for the political and economic breakdown of liberal and democratic civilization and for the reappearance of world war; and that if Europe is to find lasting peace it can only do so by the application of the federal principle, in some form, to its inter-state problems. It is, indeed, obvious that the division of Europe into twenty-six sovereignties, each with an army and air force, a foreign policy, sky-high tariffs, and insurmountable restrictions on

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migration of its own, is incompatible either with peace or liberty or prosperity, and that this anarchy has been the main cause of the constant wars and revolutions which have been the bane of Europe in the past.

Federalism was first discovered and successfully applied in the United States. It has since been copied in Canada and Australia. No one has so far put forward any practical scheme of federation, either for Europe as a whole or for large parts of it. It is clearly impossible to include Communist, Fascist, and democratic states in the same federation. A true federation is necessarily the result of voluntary agreement and not of compulsion. It can only be based on free institutions in some form. One necessary preliminary is the defeat of totalitarian imperialism.

But I believe it registers a real advance of far-reaching significance that the leaders of democracy in Europe have for the first time come publicly to recognize that national sovereignty is the real root of Europe's persistent troubles, and that federalism is the basic remedy if Europe is ever to be united and prosperous, and to enjoy both individual freedom and national freedom for its varied races and peoples. Not only is the idea, I believe, true in itself, but it is the only answer both to those who claim that Europe's problems can only be solved by the triumph of Communist or National Socialist imperialism over Europe as a whole, or to those who fear that an allied victory would only spell another Versailles.

But there is the other flaw in the modern democratic world of which the Christian leaders to whom I have referred so eloquently spoke—the moral defect of modern democracy in its excessive pandering to individual and national selfishness, and the weakness of its appeal to public and international duty. I am sure their criticism is true. But where lies the remedy? In my view it does not lie so much with politics as with religion.

The root disease of modern society is its dethronement of religion as the governing motive in society and the substitution therefor of politics, economics, and scientific materialism.

There was a time when Christian Europe was convulsed with the issue of the relative spheres of Church and State. In

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medieval days the two were more or less co-equal. The Church was the spiritual and moral teacher of man, the guardian of the eternal verities, the inspirer of education, the conscience which awakened mankind to the difference between good and evil, truth and error, sin and virtue, and which gave him his passport to eternal salvation. The State had a more practical and mundane sphere. Its duty was to deal with man not as he ought to be but as he was, and to wrestle with such practical problems as the maintenance of the peace, the administration of justice, and finance.

The issue between Church and State is no longer a live issue, because in practice the State has become almost completely triumphant. It is easy, too, to criticize the medieval system. In practice it had great defects. But its weaknesses sprang, not from the idea that Church and State had co-ordinate tasks, both of which were indispensable to a healthy society, but from defects in the Church and from the limitations in human knowledge.

The balance between Church and State is, I believe, essential to a healthy and progressive society, and we shall not make lasting progress until it is once more restored.

Consider the application of the medieval balance in the field with which you are best acquainted—the field of education. At the centre of the medieval college was the college chapel in which the moral and spiritual truths, vital to goodness, wisdom, and character, and to ultimate salvation, were daily set forth, and which all attended because religion, with its pains and penalties as well as its inspiration and promises, was as vital an element in life as is politics and economics to-day. Alongside the chapel was the library, which sought to contain all human knowledge. Around these two institutions was the intimate life of the community, where students and professors and theologians and scholars shared a common dining-room and learnt how to combine learning and individual independence and intellectual integrity with membership of a living society.

In principle this was a good system, provided, of course, the theology or religion was right. Why has this whole scheme of things gone, even in education except in a few cases where

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the chapel is still the vital centre of college life? It has gone, I think, mainly for two reasons. The first has been because the modern scientific spirit has undermined the authority of the creed in which earlier ages had crystallized their understanding of Christianity. Darwinian evolution destroyed the book of Genesis. The second has been because the discoveries of natural science have been so exciting and so absorbing that mankind became almost entirely preoccupied with material values and has lost sight of the fact that the true foundation for happiness and success is the spiritual life.

The truth is well symbolized by the history of the famous controversy between Thomas Huxley and the Bishops in the middle of the nineteenth century. In that day the Anglican Church dominated what might be called the correct or orthodox view of life and the universe in Britain. Huxley challenged, with characteristic vigour, the authority of the Bishops and especially of the Creeds, which he declared to be practically meaningless to the modern mind. Natural science, he claimed, rather than the Creeds, was going to answer the riddle of the universe. The Bishops vigorously retaliated against this earthy philosopher. Yet to-day the wheel has gone full circle. Only a few years ago I attended the annual meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. The Bishops and the scientists were on the best of terms. The Bishops still claimed to have the answer to the problem of existence, but admitted cheerfully that they could not prove it. The scientists claimed that everything they taught could be proved, but admitted no less cheerfully that despite all their discoveries they were further from explaining the riddle of the universe than they had been a hundred years ago.

Neither the old Creeds nor the new sciences are able to solve the riddle. We are in our present troubles because we have allowed religion to fall from its high estate, and allowed politics and economics to take its place.

Nothing that I have said must be taken as criticism of Christianity. There is no need for any reconstruction of the New Testament, of the sayings and deeds of Jesus, or of the writings of St. Paul. The gospel is true. The truth about

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man and the universe to which the Bible bears witness is one and eternal. But to us mortals, who only see as through a glass darkly, the definition of the truth alters according to our own growth in moral and spiritual understanding, and to the current interpretation of history and the material universe. The creed which represents very well the understanding of Christianity convincing to one age may require restatement to hold the loyalty of differently educated later generations.

My purpose to-day is certainly not to talk about theology. The restoration of the authority of religion is a matter for the Churches. I only want to make clear that one of the reasons for our frustrations to-day is that the modern world has lost sight of the true relation between politics and religion. The founder of Christianity made that relation perfectly clear. Though his teachings were utterly uncompromising in their fidelity to moral and spiritual truth, and though he certainly put religion at the very centre of life, he recognized quite clearly the place which politics, which, as somebody has said, is the art of compromise, necessarily occupies in human affairs. 'Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's.' He did not, so far as we are told, abuse Roman Imperialism or denounce the rulers of Palestine, except for vice. He paid his taxes. He was crucified partly because he refused to put himself at the head of the Jewish nationalist movement of rebellion against Rome. He reserved his most vehement vituperation, not for the politicians, but for the Pharisees and the Sadducees who, in the name of religion, were misleading and seducing the people about the true nature of religion.

It seems to me that in essence the distinction between the rôle of religion and politics is quite clear. The rôle of politics is to enact the laws and enforce them, if need be by police violence, so as to create the conditions in which it is possible for the Christian to lead the Christian life and to apply its principles both as an individual and as a citizen. But it is not the duty of politics to use its physical power to make the citizen behave like a Christian. The rôle of religion is to teach the individual the truth about God and man and the Christian way of life and to inspire and encourage him to

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practise them. It is its duty to try to make the citizen a true Christian. But for that task it has to rely upon example, inspiration, and persuasion, and not on force.

This distinction is an old one. But it is also, I believe, a true distinction. We get into fatal trouble when the Church begins to assume the duties of the State, or the State begins to assume the duties of the Church.

We have to-day a very clear illustration of the evils of the latter perversion. What else is totalitarianism, whether in its Communist or its Fascist or its National Socialist form, than the assumption of the functions of the Church by the State? The totalitarian State claims infallible authority and universal obedience. It enforces its own interpretation of life and history. It forbids individual thinking and, still more, private or organized propaganda about first and last things. It will only tolerate the Christian Church provided it teaches opinions about the next world which have no relation to the politics of this world. The totalitarian State is a Church as well as a State and the dictatorial parties which, in practice, control its politics claim and exercise the rights of infallibility, including the right to suppress the expression of truth if it challenges their doctrine or their authority.

I need not expatiate on the evils of this system. Everyone who has been so fortunate as to be brought up in a free country can see them clearly enough. It degrades the individual into a moral moron, without moral initiative or independence. His or her only duty is to obey a human authority. It undermines intellectual integrity, depreciates moral courage, and exalts purely physical bravery. It puts all power, and that in a form which is not responsible to anyone else, in the hands of the few who have seized or inherited it.

On the other hand, towards the end of the Middle Ages, we had a clear example of precisely the opposite perversion, when the Church took over the duties of the State. The Church was then the most powerful and universal organization in Europe. It seemed that it alone could maintain order and unity in Europe or the civilized world. So, in substance though not in form, it became the State. It assumed the functions of Caesar. It began to give orders to the State

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under pain of spiritual penalties. It forbade heresy and made the State persecute heretics with ruthless violence. It controlled education and opinion. But, of course, the more it assumed the duties of the State the more secular its own life necessarily became, the less its own authority among the finest of its own disciples, until the inevitable explosion came. And that explosion destroyed the unity of the Church, blew it into a number of sects and denominations which steadily lost their influence through disunity, and had the inevitable consequence of blowing the political unity of Europe into fragments also, and ushering in the modern era of economic competition and of rivalry and war between national sovereign states, each thinking of itself alone.

But one beneficial result of the triumph of private judgement over authority in the field of religion was the rise of democracy, under which the policy of the State ultimately depends upon the thinking and responsibility of the citizens themselves. But in democracy also the existence of both Church and State are vital. The democratic state reflects the consciousness of the people. But except in the sphere of the secular education of youth, the State does not mould or control the thinking of its citizens. It is still the function of the Church in a democracy to turn the citizens into men and women of character and principle, who are unselfishly willing to put the public interest before their own private gain. And unless there are enough such people in any democratic community, people who are capable of resisting appeals to envy, hatred, and greed, and of distinguishing between wisdom and folly, right and wrong, democracy itself, as we have seen many times since 1920, collapses into anarchy or surrenders to some form of totalitarian violence.

In a democracy, no less than in authoritarian states, we find people confusing the rôles of Church and State. Take prohibition. Personally I am a dry. But I regard attempts to make the State compel people to abandon drink as both bad politics and bad religion. It is the duty of the State, as I have said, to create the conditions in which the citizen is protected in his right to live and practise Christianity, both as an individual and as a Christian. So long as the citizens want

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strong drink, that duty requires the regulation of the hours of sale of liquor, the limitation of its advertisement, and other practical political steps. But the building of the character which can resist temptation of its own accord is far more important than compulsory temperance and that, it seems to me, is a matter not for politics, but for religion. For a man is not a man of character and force because he is protected from temptation, but because he can recognize it and resist it. And only the Church, or, if you like, religion, can educate and build citizens of this kind. The only true basis for prohibition is that the vast majority of citizens are already total abstainers of their own free will.

It is the same with war. Christianity naturally regards war or any kind of killing with abhorrence, and Christianity is the only power which, in the end, will produce the spirit and the brotherly love which will make it possible to abolish war from off the earth. But it is the function of politics to create the practical conditions in which resort to violence will be forbidden and prevented. The establishment of these conditions is the peculiar and special function of the State. The primary and essential duty of the State is to end war, because war more than any other evil makes it difficult to lead the Christian life. But war will not be abolished from the earth until we get a new form of State, a new form of law and political organization covering a sufficient proportion of the earth, which will make resort to war between nations and peoples as impossible as resort to violence between individuals and groups is made impossible within the national state to-day.

Neither pacifism nor militarism will end war. The unity of the nations under a single constitution, with a representative governmental authority possessed of the powers necessary to enforce that constitution and prohibit and prevent resort to violence will alone do this. This consummation seems a long way off to-day. It is the function of religion to change the hearts of men to universal brotherhood sufficiently to make possible the establishment of a political world order which by ordinary political means will end war.

Many people are depressed by the present state of the

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world. I think that is a wrong view. All the great crises of history are, in reality, opportunities for a great advance. We are in crises because the old order has reached a climax and a new order is being born. And on us will depend whether that new order will be better or worse than the old. I have mentioned to-day only two characteristics of the new order. There are many others. If these two alone could be achieved we should pass rapidly from the sloughs and desponds of the present age into a society nobler and better than has ever yet been seen. It will be achieved only by the active pursuit of truth and beauty and principle and the active love of our fellow men, by free and responsible citizens, coupled with the readiness to make whatever sacrifice of self seems necessary to attainment. If this generation has the insight to see what is really within its grasp, if it has the courage both to think imaginatively and to work actively as did the leaders of your Revolutionary armies one hundred and fifty years ago, and as did those who served with Abraham Lincoln seventy years ago, a transformation of the whole world is within its grasp. We shall be able to realize on an even ampler stage Lincoln's own dream that 'Government of the people, for the people, and by the people, shall not perish' not from a part but from the whole earth.

SPEECH AT THE DINNER CELEBRATING THE
FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF BARNARD COL-
LEGE, AT THE HOTEL ASTOR, NEW YORK
14 NOVEMBER 1939

IT is a commonplace that education is essential to the proper working of democracy. But the kind of education we need for democracy is rapidly changing, for the task which lies before the democracies is vastly greater than we used to think. The education which was suitable for the town meeting, which centred about the local school, with a few brilliant individuals given special attention by the school-master or the minister of religion before proceeding to the university or the law school, has long ceased to suffice. The wider the area covered by the democratic State, the more diverse its inhabitants, the more complicated its economic and cultural and political order, the more complex the rôle of education. And now that the democracies have to face the international problem, and especially the problems of unemployment and war which spring from it, the task before educators becomes more difficult still.

The real menace to democracy to-day is totalitarianism—the conviction that if man is to get peace and order and prosperity—salvation in a material sense—he must surrender his right of judgement to the State, or rather to the party which has captured the State, because the task of thinking his or her way through to a solution of the economic, social, and political problems of the modern age is quite beyond his powers. There is no doubt that totalitarianism has its appeal—especially to youth. Do not let us underrate its power: on the one hand, the power of its insistent demand that the individual should discipline and sacrifice himself or herself for something greater and nobler than himself; on the other hand, the power in the subtle lure of its suggestion that the citizen had better leave the difficult task of thinking and the painful duty of decision to those at the top who claim to know and to understand what to do. That is one side of the totalitarian menace. The other is the relative failure of

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democracy to solve three vital problems for themselves: unemployment and the economic disorder that causes unemployment; the maldistribution of wealth; and war. If the democracies could solve these problems within their own world we would no longer have to fight totalitarian imperialism by violence. We would undermine its authority and overcome it by the power of our example.

Education, therefore, has taken on a new task—that of preparing the people so that they can reconstruct wisely both the national and international society in which the democracies live; so that the new world order which is in course of being born shall give its citizens a better and ampler life than its totalitarian rivals, and will do so on the foundation of individual freedom and individual responsibility.

I use the word education, of course, in the widest sense of the term. I do not refer to the narrower question of the proper curriculum. For my purposes it includes all those organized forces which mould the free citizen and instruct him in the first principles of civilization and teach him to understand facts and how to reason intelligently and honestly about them. Religion is certainly a vital educational force. Indeed, I am pretty sure that religion is the most important educational influence of all. But to-day I am concerned with education in the ordinary sense of the word.

Education, in the sense in which I use the term, has two somewhat different tasks. On the one hand, it has to equip the individual so that he can make his or her own way successfully in life. On the other hand, it has to educate those who can discharge the ever more onerous duty of giving that leadership to democracy without which it cannot survive.

You have gone an immense way to solve the first aspect of this problem. You realized long before we did in England that an adequate education for all citizens was absolutely vital to democracy. You have by far the largest educational equipment in the world—more primary schools, more high schools, more universities than almost the rest of the world put together. That has been a job magnificently done. We have been much slower. We provided for universal primary education, up to fourteen years of age, in 1870. But till the

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Great War secondary and higher education was overwhelmingly the preserve of the rich—of those who could afford to pay the cost of it for their children. But since 1920—and the Fisher Act—there has been an immense change. The number of students in the universities has almost doubled since 1914. But, what is far more significant, the social composition of the student body and of the faculties has changed even more. To-day over 50 per cent. of the undergraduates at Oxford and Cambridge—the two universities which used to be the exclusive strongholds of the privileged—no longer come from what we call the public and you call the private schools. They consist of young men and women who have not been at private schools but have come up to the university from the State-conducted elementary schools, through the secondary or high schools, by means of State and county and municipal and other scholarships. The proportion in the great Scottish and provincial universities, of course, is far higher. It is the overwhelming majority. Nearly one-third of the students in the British universities to-day are women. Our education, therefore, has been immensely democratized since the Great War. Our chief task now is the reform and extension of our secondary or high schools.

The second problem is what you call education for leadership—and that, as I have said, is a rapidly changing problem. In this field there has been a considerable difference of view between my country and yours. It is a difference of view which has largely arisen from the difference in the functions which your country and mine have had to assume in the past.

Your main task, till a few years ago, has been to create for a vast tide of strongly individual pioneers, most of them originating in the Eastern States but enormous numbers of them coming from Europe, not only the equipment for a civilized life—roads, railways, automobiles, factories, law courts, churches, and so on—but above all schools and universities, so that they could not only drink in the culture of the ages, but deal intelligently with the problems of a united and intensely democratic community. The problem of leadership in that community has been, from one point

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of view, comparatively easy. For a century you had practically no external problems at all. The Monroe Doctrine and our naval policy kept Europe and Asia away. Your need of leadership, therefore, was mainly in relation to your own internal affairs.

Our problem was quite different. Our main task has been international—the building up of the overseas trade necessary to a small industrialist island; the development of what is now known as the British Commonwealth of Nations, a world-wide organism; and the prevention of world war. You may think that our policy was selfish and imperialist, based on a desire to exploit and dominate other peoples. There is no doubt that we have made many mistakes and have sometimes abused our power by giving too little and taking too much. But we are still unrepentant in our belief that the British Empire, now developed into the British Commonwealth of Nations, has contributed much to the peace, individual liberty, and prosperity of its inhabitants; that for the last fifty years it has been a successful school of self-government; and that for a century it has been the main preventive of world war. The alternative to it would have been a far more ruthless empire created by some other nation, or the anarchy and the constant wars which inevitably spring from a world without any form of government at all.

Granted the preoccupation of Great Britain with the immense overseas problems of the Commonwealth and of the international world, it was inevitable that its educational system should have been concerned to produce men and women who could understand and handle these problems. That, I think, is a main reason why our higher education in Great Britain before the Great War was so largely confined to the children of the possessing classes, and especially of those who had held office or served the State at home and abroad; and why we were far slower than you were in extending the franchise to the whole population. Not only had we to train people for these overseas duties, but the electorate had to be an educated electorate if it was to follow and come to reasonably sensible judgements about these external problems.

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To-day, however, the conditions have entirely changed. We have manhood and womanhood suffrage. Some of the peoples of the Commonwealth, like Canada, Australia, and South Africa, have already attained full nationhood. The rest are on the way to it. I have already described the transformation of our educational system and the advent of an electorate based on adult suffrage. And we ourselves are quite unable, by ourselves, to maintain the system which gave such remarkable peace and prosperity and freedom to the nineteenth century. The international problem of peace and prosperity is now one which concerns all democracies, though in differing degrees. And if they are to succeed in solving it, their educational system must equip them to do so. We are only at the beginning of trying to find a solution to this vast educational problem. I cannot even begin to discuss it to-day.

But there is one aspect of it in which I personally have long been interested and which I will venture to put before you to-day. I do not see how a modern democracy, confronted with the gravest world problems, can be successful unless it has developed and can maintain a well-educated, well-informed, public-spirited, and strong party system. Democracy, with its freedom of speech, produces an immense flood of individual and sectional propaganda and initiative of all kinds. That is indispensable to democratic life. But something more is needed. The ordinary citizen, busy about his daily work, or his profession, or his business, just hasn't time to master the complex facts, national and international, of the modern world. The real duty of the citizen of latter-day democracy is quite different from that of the old town meeting. There he knew everybody and the facts about every local matter. Now he can really only be a juror. Everybody knows that a jurymen would be helpless if he did not have opposing counsel to marshal before him all the facts in the case and the arguments on both sides, and a judge to state the law. Given these aids the man in the street can be trusted to give a shrewd and sane verdict. But without these he is almost sure to blunder. The same is true of the citizen confronted with the extraordinarily complex problems, eco-

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nomic and political and strategic, of the modern unified world. He must have the facts and the principles upon which his decision must be based properly marshalled and put before him, if he is to have any chance of coming to a wise decision. In the final analysis, after the Press and the columnists and the private associations and the lobbies have had their say, I believe that the presentation of the issues by two, perhaps sometimes by more, great political parties is essential. These parties must have drawn into their ranks the best and most public-spirited citizens if they are to be really competent to lead. And they must feel deeply their responsibility and differ from ordinary political writers or speakers, because each knows that if it is returned to power, it will have to take office and carry out the policy it advocates. It is one of the tasks of education to help to bring into being the kind of party which alone can guide a modern democracy through the shifting sands and shoals of the modern national and international world. In no country that I know of has this been properly done.

I cannot enter to-day into how parties in a modern democracy ought to be constituted. If good parties are indispensable, bad parties are ruinous. Good parties are an insurance against the mob spirit and that alliance between money and mob feeling which has ruined so many democracies. Bad parties may become the means by which men of violence, or vested interests and prejudices, may come to dominate the State for their own ends. The history of party is one of the most fascinating studies in the world and has not received nearly as much attention as it deserves. But it is certain that one of the prime tasks of education, in the wide sense of the word, is to help toward the creation of a sound party system in every democratic land.

May I say in conclusion one word about the women's aspect of public affairs at home. The last twenty years have seen an immense change in the position of women in England. Some of you probably know more about this than I do. The franchise has led to a large increase in the legislation directly affecting women and children. Women now have the entry into all the professions and the Civil Service. There are

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80,000 Civil Servants, 181,000 teachers, 200,000 nurses, and 30,000 social workers, doctors, architects, and so on (only the Diplomatic and Consular Services stand out). Nowadays 80 per cent. of all girls of 18 to 20 are earning their own living, and one-third of all the women of the country are self-supporting.

The change in this war from the last is very striking. In 1914 it took a long time for the country to realize that women were an immense reserve of strength. They were not used as munition workers till 1915, nor in the auxiliary services to the Army, the Navy, and the Air Force or in the Land Army till 1917. By 1918 there were 162,000 women in temporary Civil Service posts, and 180,000 in the auxiliary services. Practically all these women were untrained when they entered into the service.

To-day they have jumped into service at once. And they entered trained. Not only have the old services been revived but women are the core of the air raid organizations—serving as wardens, at first-aid posts, as ambulance drivers and fire watchers, as well as nurses. They did practically all the vast evacuation of mothers and children, the billeting and communal feeding. The number of Women's Voluntary Service workers, all trained in some way before the war, exceeded 460,000.

I remember Mr. Lloyd George being asked once who he thought had won the last war. He pondered for a moment and then he said, 'Certainly no nation won anything. The only people who won were the women. Because of their service they have won their full rights as citizens.' I think he was right. And what are they going to win out of the suffering and sacrifices of this war? I think I know what they would like to win—that is the ending of all war. They feel more strongly about war than men do. War, to men, has something heroic about it. They are called upon to lay down their lives for a great cause. But women, in the main, are only called to lay down the lives of those they love best—a far more terrible and thankless task. But war is not going to be ended by yearning for it to end. It will only come from hard thinking and hard work, and imagination. The ending

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of war is a constitutional problem—a problem in government. The more you think about it, the more you will see that that is true. The State is *the* institution which ends war within its own boundaries; and inter-State war will only end when we are able to establish the principle of the State in some new and wider form than has ever yet been successfully attempted. What that form will be like we cannot even begin to see to-day. But the principle underlying it is clear. If I have the temerity to say one thing to the women who are now striving so earnestly to end war it is that they should think of the problem in constitutional terms. Then you will begin to see its true nature. But constitutional problems have hitherto been regarded as man's special job. Many people say that women are incapable of understanding or handling constitutional questions. I don't believe it. I can see no difference between the mind that is in men and in women, though each sex has special aptitudes of its own. So if you want to end war, give some steady thought to that aspect of government which has been treated hitherto as man's peculiar preserve. When the constructive reason of man is combined with the love and intuition of woman, the reign of the dragon of war over mankind will begin to draw to its close.

SPEECH ON THE OCCASION OF THE DEPOSIT
OF THE MAGNA CARTA IN THE LIBRARY OF
CONGRESS, 28 NOVEMBER 1939

THIS copy of Magna Carta—the best of the four original versions—is the property of the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral of Lincoln, and their most treasured possession. It was brought to the United States early this year, safely enclosed in the bronze air-tight casing in which you now see it, to be the central exhibit in the British Pavilion of the New York World's Fair. There it was guarded by day and by night. This ancient document, for seven hundred years treasured and honoured in Britain, has been welcomed and honoured not less deeply in the United States. In the last six months more than 14,000,000 people passed along the gangway and bent down to read its obsolete Latin legal phraseology, which none but a handful of experts now understand.

Why all this fuss and trouble about a medieval relic? If one reads Magna Carta with the cold objective eye of the historian, it is clear that the protagonists in the historic struggle against the exactions and oppressions of the Crown were not the people but the barons of England. And the barons were certainly more concerned to preserve their own rights and privileges than to extend the liberties of commoner and villein. Yet from that day in 1215 when Magna Carta was signed on the field of Runnymede, by the Thames, a site now fortunately a national preserve, the almost self-evident truths it pronounced have echoed through the pages of history. They have been repeated decade after decade, century after century, by individual citizens and subjects, by groups of petitioners, by rebels and conservatives, by Parliaments and Congresses, as the sufficient ground on which to base their claim for liberty and responsibility.

Here are some of its redoubtable sentences. 'No freeman shall be taken, imprisoned, disseised, outlawed, banished, or in any way destroyed, nor will We proceed against or prosecute him except by lawful judgement of his peers or the law

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of the land.' 'To no one will We sell, to none will We deny or defer, right or justice.' 'No scutage or aid shall be imposed in Our Kingdom unless by common council thereof....'

In these immortal words, and in others, inscribed on the musty parchment before us, we see the nucleus of most of our liberties, of trial by Jury, of Habeas Corpus, of the principle of no taxation without representation, of the Bill of Rights, and of the whole constitutional edifice of modern democracy, and of what my predecessor in office, Lord Bryce, described as 'the supremacy of law over arbitrary power'. From those days they have been the inspiration which nerved the hands of my countrymen who struck for freedom and who in later generations built the institutions which secured it.

The principles which underlay Magna Carta are the ultimate foundations of your liberties no less than of ours. Samuel Adams appealed to 'the rights of Magna Carta to which the colonists, as free subjects, have an undoubted claim'. It was in their name that your ancestors threw the tea into Boston Harbour and rejected the claim of King George III to tax the colonies for defence. It was in their name that, after bitter sacrifices and frustration, they drew up that constitution which Mr. Gladstone, one of the greatest champions of human freedom, described as 'the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man'. And it was in their name that Abraham Lincoln fought a four years' war to loosen the fetters from the slaves and to preserve the Union which alone could ensure that the anarchy of national sovereignties, the insatiable breeder of war in Europe, should not appear on this continent.

It has, therefore, been a true and penetrating instinct that has come to regard with peculiar veneration a document which has represented not the findings of philosophers or the dreams of idealists, but a victory in the grim struggle of national life, for the principles of freedom from which we draw our being.

But if seven centuries have passed since they were first formulated, in these times their full meaning has still to be

The Deposit of the Magna Carta

understood and realized. We still have our liberties, though at the moment they are being challenged by totalitarian imperialism, both from the right and from the left. But the fulfilment of the infinite promise they contain depends upon the way in which we use them. The correlative to freedom is responsibility. Without responsibility freedom fails. Individual self-government, which begins with fidelity to principle, is the only lasting foundation for democracy. If we enjoy free government to-day it is because the makers of our parliamentary system and of your federal system felt deeply the moral responsibility which rests upon free citizenship and rose nobly and heroically to the sacrifice of self and the creative social imagination which it requires. There is a no less vast task of achievement before our generation to-day if Magna Carta is to come to its full fruition.

It was, therefore, but natural that when the second great war of this century descended upon us this autumn the British Government should have hesitated to imperil so priceless a possession by trusting it to the angry transit of the seas, back to its cathedral shrine. It therefore instructed me to inquire whether a home for it could be found in the Library of your National Congress for the duration of the war or till it was needed elsewhere. To our great delight the Librarian has granted our request and his courtesy has found for Magna Carta this wonderful position, where it lies alongside its own descendants, the Declaration of American Independence and the American Constitution, and where, like them, it will be guarded by day and by night. Mr. Librarian, I have the greatest pleasure in entrusting Magna Carta to your benevolent care.

SPEECH TO THE CHICAGO COUNCIL OF
FOREIGN RELATIONS, 4 JANUARY, 1940

I CONCEIVE that it is part of the duty of a British Ambassador to explain to the American public, so far as he judiciously can, what his own countrymen think about matters of common interest, just as your excellent Ambassador in London, Mr. Kennedy, is continually explaining to the British people what you think. That, I believe, is essential to healthy relations between any two democratically controlled peoples.

The genius of democracy depends upon freedom of speech. That means that every true democracy wants to hear all sides of every great question, whether it is domestic or whether it is international. It must do so if it is to arrive at sound judgements. I don't believe that you want me merely to utter a few meaningless diplomatic commonplaces tonight. I believe that you would prefer to hear an honest account of what we in Britain think and hope and fear about the most serious problem in the world to-day—the European war. So I am going to take my courage in my hands and talk to you about the war.

To do this is not, I think, propaganda. The free peoples, I believe, are entitled to speak to one another, provided they tell the truth, as I shall endeavour to do. I do not see how we can arrive at any sane programme for peace unless we do talk frankly to one another. Propaganda, as I see it, is quite a different thing. Propaganda is the deliberate attempt to influence your own countrymen, or other nations, to a particular course of action, by lies or half truths or tendentious innuendos. The truth is never propaganda; it is the very staff of public life. The mark of a good citizen in a democracy is his or her capacity to distinguish between truth and error. The subjects of a dictatorship are never given any training or responsibility in this vital function. The Government, and the party which controls it, provides the news and does the thinking for them. That is why democracies turn out citizens of independence and

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character, and why they are so difficult to propagandize for long. And that is why the subjects of the dictatorship who are taught only to obey authority fall such ready victims to propaganda.

I do not propose to spend much time in discussing the origins of this war. We must now leave that task to the historians. I would only hope that when the time comes for making peace, those who have to make the peace will have studied the history of the last twenty years and so will avoid some of the mistakes which were made last time. But first, in our opinion, we have to win the war. We in Britain have no doubt, whatever we may think about the far past, that the immediate responsibility for letting war loose last autumn rests on the shoulders of Herr Hitler. There was no reason whatever for forcing war on unfortunate Poland last August. The security and prosperity of Germany were not threatened in any way by Polish policy or by the Polish frontiers. Poland, France, and Great Britain had repeatedly said that they were prepared for discussion, either between Poland and Germany alone or at a round table conference. Yet, as Count Ciano made clear in his recent speech in Rome, Hitler would neither wait nor negotiate. He insisted on settling the Polish question in his own way at once, by loosing on the Polish people unlimited total war, and then partitioning Poland with Russia.

It is sometimes said that Great Britain and France should have gone more vigorously to the rescue of Poland last September. But everybody knew, the Polish Government itself knew, once the German-Russian Pact was signed, that it would be futile to try to save Poland by diverting planes or troops to Poland, to the East from the West, or by wasting our still undeveloped resources by flinging them against the Siegfried Line. That would simply have been to play the German game. From the date of the Pact every thinking person knew that the freedom and future of Poland really depended on the ultimate victory of the Allies in the war against Hitlerism. Serbia, Belgium, Greece, Rumania were all overrun in the last war, as Poland has been overrun in this war, because the Allies could not effectively help them.

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But they were all released, with their independence restored, in 1918. And so it will be with Poland.

But there is a second reason for not discussing responsibility for the origins of the war at length to-night, and that is because once war has been launched, the issues rapidly change as its area extends. The World War of 1914 began with the invasion of Serbia by Austria-Hungary. The issue then was whether the sovereign independence of Serbia could be saved. Yet within a few days almost the whole of Europe was dragged into war by that terrible military time-table—the time-table which always appears when nations are living in anarchy and have to form alliances for national safety. The issue then became whether the independence not only of Serbia but of Belgium, and later of Greece and Rumania, could be restored. By the time the United States entered the war, the issue was whether the world was going to give allegiance to the liberal ideals for which the Western nations stood, or be dominated by the ideals and militarist methods which lay behind Ludendorff and the Kaiser.

So to-day we think that the central issue is no longer whether the peoples of Poland and Czechoslovakia are to be freed from the Gestapo, though that is certainly one of our war aims, and whether our own security is to be preserved. It is the larger one of which of two conflicting ways of life, which may be described as the democratic and the totalitarian, are going to be dominant in Europe, and probably the world. When Hitler started his career his claim was that Germany should be freed from such discriminations as the demilitarization of the Rhineland, and that the frontiers of the Reich should correspond with the boundaries of the German people. These aims he won, and without war. What he is fighting for to-day is quite different. Whatever the defects of the Versailles Treaty, its great merit was that it gave every nation in Europe the right to self-government, it gave to racial minorities in Europe statutory safeguards, and it gave to backward peoples elsewhere the protection of the mandatory system. The frontiers may not have been perfect, though they were certainly the justest frontiers Europe had ever known. But it is now clear that Hitler is

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not concerned with the justice of frontiers. His remedy for imperfections in frontiers has been to destroy the independence of nations altogether. Thus by brute violence he has annihilated Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Poland and condemned their inhabitants to serfdom. They have not even the protection against oppression which is secured to the native inhabitants of the ex-German colonies by the mandatory system.

It now seems quite clear to us that what Hitler really seeks is not justice for Germany, but conquest and domination. There is no other explanation for the fact that Hitler has subordinated every other consideration to the creation of the most tremendous totalitarian military and aerial organization the world has ever seen; that he has used it with utter ruthlessness to gain his ends both in diplomacy and in war; and that promises and treaties have been to him merely the means of lulling his neighbours into a false sense of security before he attacks them. His true purpose was quite frankly stated by Hitler himself in *Mein Kampf*—‘The idea of pacifism’, he wrote, ‘may be quite good after the supreme race has conquered and subdued the world in such a measure as makes it its exclusive master... Therefore first fight and then perhaps pacifism.’ And only a few days ago, to prove that this is still the National Socialist plan, Dr. Ley, one of the leaders of the party, attempted to justify the conquest of Poland on the grounds that it was a necessary step toward the establishment of the dominion of the supreme German ruling race.

That is why we in Britain and France and in the young democracies across the seas have gradually been forced to the conclusion, especially since the Russian invasion of Finland, that we are confronted with one more of those tremendous struggles between freedom and tyranny which have been the central theme of history ever since the Greeks turned back the power of Persia after Thermopylae and at Salamis.

The democracies of to-day are the heirs, the fortunate heirs, of the struggles of their ancestors to establish freedom firmly upon earth. For them freedom has meant two things.

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First, it has meant freedom for religion, freedom from arrest except for violation of law, freedom of opinion and the public expression of opinion on the platform and in the Press. Second, it has meant the responsibility of the individual citizen for law and government expressed in such phrases as 'government must rest on the consent of the governed' and in the constitutional systems of modern democracy.

This process of freedom began far back in history with the Israelites and the Greeks. It was carried on by the Republic of Rome. It was developed still further in England, and also in some of the small European states, in Magna Carta, the Bill of Rights, and the parliamentary system. It received a vast new impetus from the French and the American Revolutions and especially from the system of government established by the American Constitution. The broad purpose of the whole movement was to allow the individual to lead his life in his own way, subject to respect for his neighbours' rights and to the restraint of laws which he helped to frame. Its object was to curb the privileges of race or class or caste, to dethrone military ambition and conquest, and to make the State and those who directed it the servants and not the masters of the people. Nowhere has that ideal been more fully realized than in the United States.

By the beginning of this century it had become clear that to complete the development of freedom two new problems would have to be tackled. One was to overcome the excessive inequality in wealth and the unemployment to which the later development of the capitalist system had led—that is, to establish economic freedom. The other was to give security to national as well as individual freedom and to overcome war, which—to-day, as always—has been the greatest destroyer of both. We, in the British Commonwealth, think that by the end of the last war the democracies had begun to formulate successfully the basic solutions for both these problems. The solution for the economic problem was what is perhaps best called social reform. Social reform includes graduated taxation, insurance against

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unemployment and sickness, old age pensions, good relations between employers and trade unions, and other methods of social security, while still maintaining intact the right to private property and to individual economic initiative. The solution of the war problem was to be found in the international ideals formulated by the democracies during the late war and best expressed in the immortal eloquence of President Wilson. These ideals may be summarized as follows:

Mankind is a community, not an anarchy of many races and nations. War is fratricide. Nations as well as individuals have the right to life, liberty, and happiness. Backward peoples have the right to security against exploitation and to be guided toward self-government. The status of all nations, great and small, should be equal before the law. The strong and powerful nations have no greater rights than the small and the weak. The remedy for war is twofold. First, a reasonable freedom of trade between all nations. And second, a form of international organization which will prevent resort to violence, provide pacific methods for the just settlement of international disputes, and will establish a true reign of law among the nations.

Of course the realization of this dual programme was and will be a tremendous task—one of the greatest ever presented to mankind. It is quite clear that the first attempt to establish a true world peace system was badly bungled after the last war. The Versailles Treaty was not a good treaty. But it was nothing like as bad as, under Dr. Goebbels' inspiration, is now generally supposed. What happened after the Paris Conference had adjourned did far more harm than the Treaty itself. I often wish that honest historians, three American, three French, and three British, and, if you like, three German historians, would get together and publish a joint statement of the true facts about the post-war era. I think it would astonish a lot of people. Still, there is not the slightest doubt that having won the greatest victory for freedom and democracy in 1919 of which history has record, after which almost the whole world went free and democratic for a time, the Allied democracies threw away their chance, both by faults of omission and commission. For responsibility for that tragedy no nation and no statesman can establish a full alibi. We in Britain certainly cannot.

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None the less both we at home and the young democracies across the seas are convinced that the basic ideas for the future set forth during the war were sound and that there is in fact no other way forward if our freedom and our happiness are to be preserved and enlarged. Our task to-day is not to abandon hope; but in the spirit of Kipling's 'If' to stoop in humility and begin our task anew.

Unfortunately the dislocations caused by the war itself and the many mistakes made afterwards led, not to the establishment of liberty, democracy, and peace on a stable basis, but to the revival of the old enemy, tyranny, in more formidable forms than had ever before been known. The economic form of tyranny has been Communism, which preached the alluring gospel that if only all property were communalized, economic freedom and equality would also result for all. Unfortunately experience has shown that the Communist system only means that the citizens become the regimented and often starving slaves of the party bureaucracy which controls the 'Marxist' State. By a final irony for the Marxists, it has not been the capitalist democracies which have initiated imperialist war since 1920. It has been Communist Russia which has now joined the ranks of the war-making aggressors. The political form of tyranny has been National Socialism whose programme is to give peace to mankind by creating the universal despotism of a supreme ruling race over all the rest. The essential characteristics of both totalitarian systems are the same. The State becomes the master and not the servant of the people and exacts from its subjects blind obedience to the dogmas and the party which control it. Totalitarianism is hostile to free religion, to independence of character, intellectual integrity, and moral courage in the individual. It establishes the dominance not of law but of the irresponsible secret police, and substitutes cruelty and propaganda for free discussion as the basis of public policy. Both systems end in the same way; they create a race of moral morons who are used as the instrument of conquest, domination, and war.

The overwhelming majority of people in Britain and the British Commonwealth are now convinced that our primary

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task is to resist and defeat the totalitarian aggression against the liberties and values of the democratic world. In the light of recent experience, we do not think that we can impose democracy on nations who do not want it and who are not ready for it. But we do think it is both possible and necessary to prevent the dictatorships from extending their empire over the mind and spirit of man by force. That is why, in addition to fighting for our own security, we are fighting to restore liberty to Poland and Czechoslovakia and why we are giving all the help we can spare to Finland. And my people are equally convinced that, once that primary task is achieved, the truest safeguard of freedom and the free way of life in the future will be that the free peoples should so organize themselves that the general standard of living will be so good and so stable, the volume of unemployment so small, the freedom of the individual so secure, and the guarantees against war so strong, that the totalitarian systems, if they survive, will begin to disintegrate gradually by the impact, not of our armies, but of our example.

Let me tell you now something about the way the war itself is going.

The central struggle is between Germany supported by Russia on the one side and Great Britain and the Dominions allied with France on the other. The prize for which they are contending is sea power. For that is the real key to world power. If Germany can defeat England either by direct attack upon her naval and her sea communications or on France through Belgium or the Maginot Line and compel us to surrender our fleet or a large part of it and the naval bases which enable fleets to travel all over the face of the globe, Germany will then be on top of the world. The opposition to her in Europe will disappear. Most of the other nations will hasten to get upon her band-wagon and she will be able to dictate the basis upon which world politics shall be conducted. If the German thrust for sea power fails, it is only a question of time before that failure and the relentless pressure of the blockade upon her capacity to carry on the war effectively will end in her defeat and the

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democracies will again have the chance of determining the kind of world in which we are to live.

So far the war has been indecisive, though occasionally an encounter like the sea battle off Montevideo suddenly reveals the grim intensity of the struggle which is going on day and night, week after week, month after month, on and below and above the sea.

In our view everything to-day points to Germany attempting early this spring to gain a decision against England and France by a terrific attack by land, air, and sea in which she will use every weapon in her armoury. The reason we think this is not only the news we get but because by her own tradition it is the right thing for her to do. The object of war is to reach a decision, and Germany cannot afford to wait. Moreover, from the point of view of the National Socialist party and the militarists who support it, not only is there a chance of a rapid decision this summer, but if the decision went in their favour it would give them the supreme prize, world empire. That chance may never come again. Nazi Germany is in a better position to win it to-day than she was in the last war. Then she had to fight a war on two fronts. To-day she can concentrate almost every force she has in the West. A month ago, despite the Russo-German Pact, she cast a suspicious eye towards her rear. To-day the resistance of the heroic Finns has shown up the weakness of the Russian army—and given her more freedom of action in the West. Again, in the last war, she had no effective long-distance air power. To-day she has the most tremendous air force in the world and is daily adding to it.

Even in the last war the German General Staff made three desperate bids for world power. The first was the thrust against France through Belgium in 1914. The second was in 1917. Ludendorff had been warned by Bethmann-Hollweg and by the German Ambassador in Washington that to introduce unlimited submarine warfare against all merchant vessels travelling to Great Britain and France would certainly bring in the United States against Germany. Ludendorff replied that he did not care, because if the submarine campaign was quickly successful, nothing that the

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United States could do would save England from defeat or Germany from taking her position. He very nearly succeeded. Not soon shall I forget the anxiety of the following months, when 800,000 tons of shipping were being sunk a month. If Germany had been able to continue sinkings at this rate for a year the Allies would have lost the war. As it was, the submarine was mastered by the autumn of 1917 by the convoy system, by the depth charge, and by the destroyer patrols, in which your young sailors under Admiral Sims played so notable and effective a part. So far in this war Great Britain has only lost an average of slightly more than 102,000 tons per month, and neutrals have lost an average of about 75,000 tons per month.

In 1917 Ludendorff failed. Yet he tried again in 1918. The moderate element in the German High Command wanted to stand on the defensive in the West, to reinforce it with the seasoned German troops which had just annihilated the Russian army, and then set to work to organize economically Eastern Europe and Southern Russia. They calculated that the Allies would then have to hurl themselves fruitlessly against the reinforced Hindenburg Line, and that when they were tired of losing life in this way, Germany would be able to force them to make a peace which would make her dominant in all Europe east of the Rhine as the price for evacuating Belgium and Northern France. But Ludendorff, faithful to the Prussian military tradition, would have none of it. It was, for him, world empire or downfall. So he staked everything on victory through the gigantic offensive of March 1918, hoping to drive the British into the sea and the French south of Paris before American aid on land could be effective. He failed, though again he only just failed. Then caught on the recoil by the masterly generalship of Marshal Foch using the seasoned veterans of France, Britain, and the Dominions, and the indispensable aid of your own intrepid divisions, Germany went not to world power but to downfall. To-day we hear exactly the same story. Dr. Goebbels said only a fortnight ago that the issue before Germany was world empire or downfall.

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That is why the Allies think that National Socialist Germany and not Communist Russia is the centre of the struggle. And that is why we believe that, unless some unexpected change occurs, there will be a terrific attack on France and on the bases of British naval and aerial power as soon as the weather improves, in the hope of winning world empire in a single decisive battle.

We have all of us, perhaps, been a little misled by the relative calm of the war in the West so far. But while we have been rapidly overtaking our own shortage of munitions and building up our naval patrols, our air squadrons, and our mechanized divisions, Germany has been expanding her armaments also, with all the frenzied energy of Nazi totalitarian drive. Moreover Germany now has over 80,000,000 of her own citizens, 30,000,000 helots, and the factories of Poland and Czechoslovakia, as well as her own factories, to put to work, and for the present only the Western front to worry about. We think that so long as she thinks there is a chance of wresting sea power from Britain either by direct attack or through France she will not think of peace—except the kind of peace which will only make it easy for her to renew the attack under more favourable conditions in a short while. We think she will try for victory first. And it is certain that if and when the attack comes, it will be with all the ferocity and ruthlessness the Nazis have taught us to expect.

We are in no way dismayed by the prospect. We in the British Commonwealth are prepared for it as France is, morally and physically. The European neutrals are standing on the side lines, most of them, I believe, gambling on the hope of an Allied victory. We believe that we shall successfully repel the German attack and that if it is repelled, as it was in 1918, it will not be long before Hitlerism itself goes down in defeat. But we have no illusions as to the terrible nature of the clash if and when it comes, or the prodigious consequences for mankind which hang upon the result.

Now a word about peace. Of course all our ideas are based on the assumption that Hitler loses the war. If Hitler wins, all the many societies in Europe and here which are

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trying to think out how the present catastrophe can be prevented from recurring and the world healed when the fighting is over can shut up shop at once. The pattern of the post-war world will be determined by him and not by us, and we have as yet no clear indication of what that pattern will be like, except that it certainly will not correspond with our ideas of freedom.

Even assuming victory, it is not easy to talk about peace with this tremendous threat hanging over us. But the general British view is clear. The kind of world of which the democracies dreamed twenty years ago was not a false dream. We think it was a right dream and that in some form it must be realized because in substance it is the only way forward for those who believe in liberty and the freedom of the human spirit. But it is now clear that in 1919 none of us understood what it was necessary to do if our hopes were to be fulfilled. The ideals which lay behind the League of Nations can only succeed if all its members are democracies. The Covenant of the League was too rigid. It had no effective machinery for making changes peacefully. The idea of universal national self-determination was incompatible with the unity recently given to the world by mechanical invention and economic progress and made both peace and prosperity impossible. The idea of federation, applied no doubt in some new way, is, in the end, the only way out of that dilemma. Yet if any form of world organization for peace is to work, the European problem must be separated from the world problem and Europe must be equipped to manage its own internal affairs, probably also by some application of the federal idea. The greatest of our mistakes at Paris were economic. What did more to wreck civilization than anything else was the belief that a war-stricken world could recover by a system which combined immense international indebtedness with unrestrained tariff protectionism. That was probably the major cause of the world depression of 1929.

We profoundly hope that the nations will think out, far more thoroughly than they did last time, how the world can be economically reconstructed when the present war is over. Trade and production will then be in dislocation. The

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needs of the war will have canalized the trade not only of the belligerents but of the neutrals. Just consider how the balance of your own economy is already being upset by the war. We are being driven to cut off our orders for tobacco and fruit and other things in order to give much larger orders for armaments, machine-tools, and so on. But those new canals will serve war and not peace purposes. Yet to go back immediately peace is signed to an economic free-for-all fight will simply mean that the end of this war will produce worse results than the last. In my personal view it will be imperative for a time to maintain these controls, but to reverse their purpose, so that they are used to restore the standard of living of mankind without which the end of this war will only be the signal for fiercer revolutions and fiercer wars than the last. Once the standard of living is restored with all that means in markets for the producing nations, we should be able safely to return to a freer international economy. It is in this field that we most want your assistance and advice.

But there is one central point to which we in Britain attach supreme importance, and which I feel I ought frankly to put before you to-night. For it vitally affects the peace and is the answer to the common talk that the present is only a war between rival imperialisms. We feel that one essential foundation for a stable and liberal world will be the control of the seas on agreed principles by the democracies. This view we base upon experience, for that was the foundation of the remarkable Victorian Age.

The greatest expansion of both freedom and prosperity of which the world has record took place in the century between 1815 and 1914. The standard of living of the Western world was raised fourfold by the Industrial Revolution. The immense adjustments following the enormous movement of capital and population all over the world which the Industrial Revolution caused were made without world war. There were many local wars but no world war—and it is world wars, not local wars, which wreck civilization. You on this side of the Atlantic were left free to develop your own culture, prosperity, and institutions without any serious

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international complication for a whole century. Partly because of the long peace and partly because of the example of the success of your democratic experiment, Great Britain itself became steadily more democratic and the British Empire became a Commonwealth of Nations, in which Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, and at long last Ireland became independent self-governing nations, entirely free from British control. Self-government has been in process of development everywhere else within it—according to the education and advancement of the peoples. Egypt and Iraq are independent states. Even India with its immense population of 360,000,000 people, its dozen languages, its Hindu-Moslem tension and its feudal princes who control over one-fourth of the country, has made immense strides in the last twenty years. Already the eleven Provinces, possessed of about the same sphere of powers as your States, are self-governing, with ministries responsible to the electorate. The real difficulty to-day is to find the basis upon which these diverse elements will agree to federate so that India can govern and defend itself. The solution of this vast problem cannot be accomplished in a day. Patience, prudence, goodwill, and common sense are the only road.

The rest of the world profited also during the nineteenth century. Italy won its unity and introduced parliamentary institutions. Greece, Serbia, Rumania, Bulgaria won their freedom. Germany was united by Bismarck. Europe as a whole began to become prosperous.

What were the foundations of this wonderful century? There were four. First, all the main currencies were based on gold and, therefore, were interchangeable on a stable basis. Second, the British Empire and a good deal of the rest of the world were free-trade or low tariff, so that capital and goods could flow freely everywhere. Third, the New World, and especially the United States, was still an open field for immigration so that the population pressures of the Old World, then at their worst because of the high birth-rate, could find relief. Fourth, and most important of all, there was a rudimentary police power in the world, the control of the sea by Great Britain and the United States, which

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made world war—though not local war—impossible until some other nation was strong enough to challenge that power on the seas.

That police system originated in the idea that no further political expansion of Europe into North and South America should be permitted. That policy was formulated by Canning and President Monroe. Originally proposed by Canning as a joint Anglo-American doctrine, it was eventually carried out in two parts by you and us separately. You threw your protection around South and Central America; we created the outer defence for that doctrine for our overseas possessions by controlling the entrance from Europe into the Atlantic, through the North Sea and the English Channel, past Gibraltar and round the Cape of Good Hope. So long as we had a navy which could hold these positions, no European power, except for a few casual raiders and submarines, would get into the Atlantic at all and so impose on you the responsibility for defending the Monroe system by yourselves.

Those were the four foundations of the Victorian Age. Personally, I believe that in some new form they will have to be restored, if the rest of this century is to be without another world war. They were challenged by Imperial Germany at the beginning of this century. They are being challenged again by Hitler to-day. But the nineteenth-century system cannot now be restored in its old form. In the first place, economically the world has advanced beyond *laissez-faire*, whether in trade or migration. In the second place, Britain neither can nor ought to play by herself the dominant rôle she played in the last century. The rise of new naval stations and the advent of air power makes that impossible. And sea power, if it is to be used as police power, should be in the hands of democracies collectively and not of one power. Even at this moment, if we face the facts honestly, our present safety to-day rests upon the fact that we control the Atlantic and you control the Pacific. Neither we nor you nor the overseas republics and dominions would be anything like as secure if either of us had to shoulder the task of sea defence alone.

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The nineteenth-century system, of course, was by no means perfect. At times we abused our power—notably in Ireland. But can any fair-minded person doubt that on the whole it promoted freedom, prosperity, and peace better than any system which preceded it in modern times? And can any fair-minded person think that if Herr Hitler and his friends were to win the war and seize from Britain its sea power and sea bases, the world would be anything like as prosperous and free as it was in the last century? It might get peace, but it would be peace with the light of liberty gone out. That is the real answer to the charge that this is a mere war between two imperialisms.

I have practically finished. I have endeavoured to put in front of you frankly and honestly what we in Britain think about the present struggle. I believe that to do this is to act in accord with true democratic principle. You will probably by no means agree with all I have said. But I believe that it is important that you should know what we think. My countrymen would like to have an equally frank and honest opinion from you. And neither would be propaganda. But having spoken my piece, it is now for you, and for you alone, to decide whether or how far you agree with my analysis and what, if anything, you are going to do about the international situation. That is your inalienable right and nobody in Britain wants to diminish it in the slightest degree. Respect both for individual and national responsibility is the foundation upon which the democratic way of life rests.

And may I add this? The British Government is not trying to drag you into this war. It knows that no democracy will accept the hideous consequences of war unless it is convinced that its own vital interests, which include its ideals, are at stake. It knows, too, that there is nothing on which the American people are more determined than to avoid entanglement in Europe, and to pursue their own independent international policy, free from alliances and commitments to other nations. If ever you are driven to action it will not be because of propaganda but because of the relentless march of events.

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In this war we believe we are fighting for principle; to prevent the ideas and institutions which alone can lead mankind forward to greater liberty, prosperity, and peace from being overwhelmed by brute force. We do not think that we have a monopoly of virtue; or that we have not made many and grievous mistakes in the past. But we are sure we are in the right now. That faith is held not in England alone but not less strongly in France, in Canada, in Australia, in South Africa, in New Zealand, and among the other peoples who have joined our side in this war. How many of you realize that the brave little *Achilles* which stood up so manfully to the *Graf Spee* at Montevideo was a New Zealand ship, manned by New Zealand sailors sent to the war of its own accord by the vigorous little democracy which lies far to the south in the Pacific. Too often people talk as if the British Commonwealth of to-day were the British Empire of yesterday. We are not fighting for empire or for domination or to deprive Germany of any legitimate right. I believe we are fighting in the spirit which your great President Abraham Lincoln so nobly described in his second inaugural. 'With malice towards none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right.' At the moment we stand necessarily in the darkness. Matthew Arnold once wrote,

But tasks in hours of insight willed,
Can be through hours of gloom fulfilled.¹

Only the other day a distinguished friend of mine going to the front said that he had little sympathy with those who complained of the troubles and dangers by which we are faced to-day. With the possibility of an unutterable disaster on the one side, and on the other of the birth of a far better world for everybody if the nations will only put selfishness and cynicism aside and combine for the common good, he thanked God for the opportunity to live and strive in such tremendous times.

¹ From 'Morality'.

SPEECH TO THE HOUSE OF DELEGATES AND
SENATE OF VIRGINIA, 17 FEBRUARY 1940

YOUR Excellency, Mr. Speaker, and Members of the General Assembly.

I feel that it is a great honour that the Legislature of the Commonwealth of Virginia should have invited me to address them in this historic place. I feel specially too your words of welcome just spoken about my country by the Governor of Virginia. It is perhaps natural that I should feel this honour, seeing that where we stand is only a few miles from where was founded the first permanent English settlement in America 333 years ago, and where only twelve years later the House of Burgesses, the characteristic manifestation of English self-government from Saxon times, first convened. From the very beginning, therefore, the colonists had a voice in the conduct of public affairs. It was at the beginning of the eighteenth century, I believe, that the meetings of that House of Burgesses were transferred to this city and were held, I believe, in a Capitol of which this building, thanks to the unfathomable munificence of Mr. Rockefeller, is an exact counterpart. Nor can I forget that as early as 1693 was founded here the second-oldest seat of learning in the United States, the College of William and Mary, with its fine central building designed by Sir Christopher Wren, certainly one of the greatest of the world's architects, which has now also been magnificently restored. I am sure that you will forgive me if I say that, in this ancient setting, I see familiar surroundings and feel in a peculiar way at home.

You in Virginia, like we in Britain, have long realized, like the Romans before us, how meet and right it is to respect and cherish the past. We yield to none in our faith in the future. But we think that to look back constantly to the great figures of our earlier history and to keep in good repair the houses and halls and groves in which they fought out the principles of statesmanship and created the traditions of conduct upon which our Commonwealths still stand is to

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feed once more at the sources which inspired and ennobled our ancestors. It is impossible for any Briton to travel about Virginia and visit those wonderful colonial houses which abound in your beautiful land, from Mount Vernon in the North to Carter's Grove and the other historic houses which lie along the James River in the South, without realizing how extraordinarily alike was the life of those who lived within them to that of the country gentleman of the parallel epoch at home.

That life has gone. It was ended for you by the cruel Civil War and the Industrial Revolution from which in part it derived. It was ended for us partly by that same Industrial Revolution which herded the population of the British country-side into vast towns and undermined rural influence in Parliament, and partly by the fierce taxation which followed the World War of 1914 and which has been so immensely increased by the new war budget of 1939. This budget, I fear, will make it impossible for most of the owners, anyhow of our larger manor-houses, to continue to live in them after this war is done.

I have another reason for feeling at home to-day. For many years one of my best friends has been a Virginia lady, who has given a fresh lustre abroad to your country. She is the epitome of those qualities of courage, gallantry, dash, and beauty for which your men and women have been famous all over the world. She too, like the early Virginians, has led an assault on an historic institution of privilege in Britain and won the day. I shall not soon forget the sight of Lady Astor's trim little figure, dressed in appropriate black, advancing from the bar of the House of Commons, flanked by Mr. Balfour and Mr. Lloyd George, two of our most famous Prime Ministers, as her introducers, to take her oath at the Speaker's Table and her seat in the Mother of Parliaments in 1920. She was the first woman to be elected to the House of Commons, elected appropriately enough by the town of Plymouth from which the other main stream of British settlement in North America, the Puritan stream, derived. I am not sure that she was not the first woman to be elected to Parliament or Congress in any English-speaking

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land. I am afraid that the other 614 male members of the House of Commons were not quite happy at the portent of that solitary and unaccustomedly demure figure. It was the beginning of the end of the exclusive dominance of the male in the elected public life of Britain. But they gave her a hearty and a chivalrous cheer, though their prescience has, perhaps, now been justified. For ever since she has made the lives of those who will not follow her in supporting the endless legislation she has introduced for the welfare of women and children a burden, by her wit, her unfailing capacity for repartee, and her fearlessness in debate. That was your second conquest of Britain.

Not many years ago Mr. Winston Churchill, the present dynamic head of our Navy, made a pilgrimage to the Southern States to study the Civil War. I can assure you, despite a recent inadvertent indiscretion, that no man in Britain has a greater admiration for the fighting South and for the great military figures it produced, than Mr. Churchill. I have often heard him talk with enthusiasm about them. But when he was invited to visit Yorktown he drew the line. He was ready to visit other revolutionary battle-fields. But at Yorktown he said, 'No, I will not go to the place which witnessed the most humiliating defeat in British History.'

I, on the other hand, felt no hesitation in going to Yorktown only a few weeks ago, for I put a somewhat different interpretation on that fateful battle. I cannot emulate a young Cornwallis who, when he visited this country and was asked by reporters if he was a descendant of this famous namesake, replied with complete sangfroid, 'Yes, I have come to see the place where he founded the United States'. So far as I know none of my ancestors were at Yorktown.

But George Washington at Yorktown did more than compel Lord Cornwallis to permit him to found the United States. He also destroyed the influence in England of those reactionary forces which were trying, through the manipulation of the rotten boroughs, to undo the work of Cromwell and of the glorious revolution of 1688 and restore political power to the Crown and which were misgoverning the then American colonies. From that successful rebellion has sprung

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not only the United States but the modern British Commonwealth. For Washington constrained us to recognize that the principle of no taxation without representation had to be applied across the seas just as much as at home, and that if the old British Empire was to survive as a unity it had to rest not only on loyalty to a constitutional King but on individual freedom and national self-government as well. These are the principles upon which the development of the British Commonwealth has been increasingly based ever since. That is why I went cheerfully to Yorktown, because it was here that George Washington became the founder not only of the United States but of the modern British Commonwealth as well.

There is one question I would like to ask you. How came it that Virginia was able to develop such a marvellous group of men in the latter half of the eighteenth century? The sudden flowering of the creative human spirit in art, in politics, in religion, in industry, is a commonplace of history. For a few short years it appears, achieving marvels, only to vanish again. Certainly no country and no race produced any group quite so remarkable for its understanding of the arts of government as the great Americans of the Revolutionary War and its aftermath—George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, the two Adams, James Monroe, Benjamin Franklin, John Marshall, and many more. It is always easy to shout for liberty and strike a blow for it. The oratory that rang in the Raleigh Tavern in Williamsburg and in Faneuil Hall in Boston was the easiest part of the job. What is difficult is to create the institutions which ensure and protect it in a revolutionary age. That was the supreme achievement of the Americans of that time and especially of the Virginia group, who possessed in supereminent degree that same talent for politics and government which has so often been displayed by a leisured class connected not with the towns but with the country-side. Thanks to them the Revolution here did not lead to the devastation and militarism to which it led in Europe but to the creation of a federal union which, for the first time in history, gave opportunity, freedom, and order to

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a continent, and which in a marvellous way has met, for a hundred and fifty years, the ever changing needs of a rapidly developing community composed from among all the peoples of Europe.

I ask that question because to-day, I think, mankind is faced by a situation at least as revolutionary as that which confronted it when the Declaration of the Rights of Man, which blew to pieces the old dynastic and feudal Europe, first began to stir the popular mind. It is the outcome of the machine age. On the one hand the Industrial Revolution has drawn the great majority of people in all industrial countries from the country-side, where it used to be possible for every man of enterprise and grit to make his own way, to the towns, where he is dependent for employment on what organized industry can give him. On the other hand, the conquest of time and space by steam, electricity, the radio, and the aeroplane has so contracted the whole world that our political international structure of over seventy sovereign States without any unity is as much an anachronism as would be an attempt to turn the United States back into an anarchy of forty-eight States. One result of these developments has been the chronic mass unemployment so characteristic of our time, and it has been from that mass unemployment that the totalitarian dictatorships have sprung. The other result has been the competition in armaments and war. As Mr. Elihu Root said a few years ago, mankind is confronted with almost the same fundamental problems as confronted the fathers of the American Constitution. If they are to be solved they must be diagnosed and answered as convincingly as were the problems of 1776 in the Federalist papers and the American Constitution. To-day as then an anarchy of sovereign States cannot escape chronic war or preserve individual liberty or create the conditions of prosperity and employment within their own boundaries unless, in some way, they can bring themselves collectively under the reign of a single constitutional law.

How the old stalwart Virginians of a hundred and fifty years ago—the men who led the Revolution, who drew up the Constitution, who wrote the Federalist papers, who

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proved that the way to end the evils of anarchy was a government not of men but of laws—how they would have fastened on these problems were they alive to-day! For they are at bottom problems in human government. And government, as Aristotle said, is the noblest and most difficult of all the arts open to man. Fundamentally the troubles of the world are not so much due to the wickedness of rulers as to defects in the systems of political and economic government under which we all live. That was true in 1776. It is even more obviously true to-day. The only real remedy for our present troubles is a constitutional remedy, out of reach as that may now seem to be and almost impossibly difficult of achievement. Nobody would have seen this more clearly than your great predecessors if they sat to-day in this hall, for it was about government and forms of government that they thought so deeply and wrought so mightily.

Why should not the Virginians of to-day aspire to emulate, if not excel, the achievements of their ancestors? For like them we live in an age when we must create something greater and nobler than has ever been seen before, or see liberty perish from our midst.

EXTRACT FROM A SPEECH AT A DINNER AT THE
HOTEL PLAZA, NEW YORK, TO BENEFIT THE
'BUNDLES FOR BRITAIN' SOCIETY, 11 APRIL 1940

THIS is not the occasion to make any lengthy comment on the German attack on Denmark and Norway. The facts are not yet known, nor the results of the naval battles. To-night I can only express my sympathy with the peoples of these two countries. Like Finland, they have certainly never done anything to warrant such invasion or the attempt to destroy their independence. By almost universal consent, they were two of the most respected nations in the world.

Nobody will be taken in by Herr Ribbentrop's excuses. Denmark was murdered as an independent State less than a year after the Nazis had signed a pact of non-aggression with her. Nobody believes that the Allies contemplated landing troops either in Denmark or Norway in order to use them as bases of operations against Germany, unless Germany first attacked the Scandinavian kingdoms.

It is obvious that these aggressions were planned and prepared long before the mines were laid last Monday to prevent the Norwegian territorial waters being used as a safe passage for German ships. The great difficulty of the democracies to-day is the same as that of the law-abiding citizen in dealing with the gangster. The gangster always has the initiative because he is always prepared for criminal aggression in violation of law, whereas his opponent is not. There was no way of landing in Norway or Denmark in anticipation of the German landing. Neither Norway nor Denmark would have permitted it. Ribbentrop's excuse is the defence given by the wolf in *Æsop's fable*, when he gobbled up the lamb.

SPEECH TO THE ST. LOUIS CHAMBER OF
COMMERCE, 19 APRIL 1940

IT is now more than eight months since the second world war of the twentieth century began. I feel that it is right that I, as the Ambassador of Great Britain to the United States, should try to put before you why we are against a patched-up peace, and the kind of peace we are fighting for. I think you have the right to know this because, unfortunately, the war is affecting you and other neutrals more and more every day.

In making such a speech I may be accused of propaganda. If propaganda means the telling of lies or the making of suggestions and innuendoes designed to mislead or prejudice other nations into doing things which they would otherwise not do, there will be no propaganda in this speech. But if it means telling you the real facts about the way my countrymen think, and that is what I am going to do, then I am performing an essential function in the international relations of democracies. For how can free nations arrive at sound policies in international affairs unless they are honestly told what the others think?

Why do the Allies go on fighting? Why are they uninfluenced by the many 'peace offensives' which directly or indirectly come from Berlin? They are fighting, of course, first for their own existence. But they are also fighting because they are convinced that not only a victory by Nazi Germany but a truce with Nazi Germany now would be the end of most of the civilized values which Christianity and Western democracy have laboriously built up in recent centuries.

A great many people in England thought at first that Hitler was fighting for equal rights for Germany, was fighting to remedy those clauses of the Treaty of Versailles which implied discrimination against Germany, such as unilateral disarmament.

But gradually it became clear that Hitler and the Nazi regime were not concerned merely with equal rights for Germany; that what Hitler really wanted was not equality but domination. So long as he was seeking to recover what

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might be called equality—that is to say, the right to fortify the Rhineland frontiers, to have an army equivalent to his neighbours, to incorporate in Germany the Austrian Germans—he was able to get his way without serious opposition or war. If we had realized then what we know now about the true nature of Hitlerism there would probably have been opposition from the Allies before. As it was, it was only when he demanded the incorporation of the Sudeten Germans in the Reich under threat of war that our people fully awoke to what Nazism meant and that a war crisis arose. For, by the end of 1938, there was no possible excuse for his attempting any further revision by force, if he was thinking only of security and equal rights for Germany. It was the conviction, which dawned on everybody after he tore up the Munich settlement and marched into Prague, that what he was really after was not equal rights for Germany but the political and economic domination of Europe that stiffened Polish resistance to his demands and made Poland itself the test case on which France and Britain decided that they had to halt Nazi aggression, if need be, by war.

For the plain fact, now obvious to all thinking people, is that what Hitler and his regime are after is something entirely different from what the liberal and democratic nations, indeed Western civilization, have been working towards for the last 150 years. The underlying motive of Western civilization has been the extension of human freedom. The first step was to secure to the individual the right to freedom from arbitrary arrest, to freedom of religion, to freedom of political opinion, and to a share in responsibility for the laws he is called upon to obey—that is, to the principle that government shall be with the consent of the governed. Nowhere have these ideals, based upon the rights of man, been more fully worked out in the internal sphere than in the United States. More recently Western civilization has sought to establish another form of freedom, the right to national self-government. We have come to believe that the era of the conquest and control of one race by another is over, that war is fratricide and that some stable security must be found for all nations so that they can have both liberty and protection against war.

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It is quite true that these ideals have so far been only imperfectly realized. But we in Britain are still profoundly convinced that the Great War of 1914, which it is now often the fashion to regard as a blunder, was a successful war of liberation. As a result of it every nation in Europe, for the first time in history, obtained its freedom, including Ireland. The old British Empire became a Commonwealth of free nations. Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand became completely independent of London control. India took immense strides to self-government, considering the enormous difficulties of democracy in a country containing 360,000,000 people with deep divisions in religion, language, and methods of government. The Arab territories were freed. The Nine-Power Treaty gave China the prospect of an independent future. You took long steps towards the independence of the Philippine Islands.

There is no doubt that the war of 1914 was in fact a war of liberation. The real reason for the breakdown of the peace settlement was not the defects in the peace itself, though they were many, but the fact that the democracies, while they were right about national freedom, had not yet thought out how the new order of national freedom was to be effectively maintained. They did not realize what your ancestors learned between 1781 and 1789, that the condition of freedom is unity under the reign of law and freedom for trade and that without them both freedom and prosperity rapidly disappear. It was not enough that the thirteen original States in America cast off the authority of George III. They did not make their freedom and prosperity secure until, after great difficulties, they established their unity in your wonderful constitution, a constitution which created the largest free-trade area in the world. So in 1918, it was not enough to multiply the number of free nations, to raise, for instance, the number of European nations from 17 to 26, and the total number of nations in the world to over 70. That had to be balanced by some form of unity, if it was not to degenerate into anarchy, imperialism, unemployment, and war. It is the real explanation of the tragedy of the last twenty years.

The League of Nations was a gallant attempt to supply the

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element of unity and order but, as you all know, it failed for a large variety of reasons. Very likely the integration of the world, when it comes, will have to be on quite different lines. But the lessons to be drawn from the failures of the last twenty years are what we shall all have to study when we come to consider the peace which is to follow the war. If it is to last, it must conform to the realities of power and national self-interest and idealism at least as well as did the Canning-Monroe system which laid the real foundations of the nineteenth century.

The conception for which Hitler and the National Socialist regime stand is something entirely different and opposite to these basic ideals of the great stream of Western civilization. The Nazi programme recognizes none of the basic individual rights—freedom of person, freedom of speech, freedom of political association, freedom of religion. The citizen is given no responsibility for law and government. He is held to exist for the aggrandizement of the State to which he belongs. He is trained to obey without question the orders of the self-constituted rulers of the State. It is the same with nations. Might is right. The rights of nations derive wholly from their strength. Small nations have no rights as against powerful nations. Hitler has said, 'I hate these dwarf States'. It is their duty to yield politically and economically to the demands of their stronger neighbours. It is the utter ruthlessness of his disregard of the rights of other peoples—first of the Czechs and the Poles, and his treatment of them once they are in his power, and now of the Danes and the Norwegians—which has made the war inevitable and proves Hitler the real aggressor. The Nazi system is a system of empire building by the forcible subjection of the labour, territory, and resources of weak neighbours for the benefit of the German ruling race. Whatever mistakes the rest of us have made in the past there is no hope of a reasonably free, peaceful, and stable world for any of us until that purpose is broken once and for all.

The objectives of Hitler Germany are now pretty well understood. They are set forth in that highly indigestible book *Mein Kampf*, which is why, perhaps, it took us so long to understand what Hitlerism implied. In its essential nature,

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it is the utterly ruthless use of violence and despotism for the purpose of territorial expansion and domination. It is of the utmost importance to realize what the Hitler technique implies.

The Germans have always been attracted by the dream of becoming the successors of the old Roman Empire. It was their pursuit of the mirage of the Holy Roman Empire in the later Middle Ages which prevented Germany from evolving into a strong national state as did France, England, and other European nations, and kept it a congeries of over 300 little dynastic principalities, whose people never obtained any political training or responsibility at all. Napoleon, at the beginning of the last century, reduced the number of these little states to thirty, and Bismarck reduced them seventy years later to one Prussian empire by fighting three wars.

The Hitler technique of empire-building has been simple. He set out first of all to create the model war state. He concentrated all political power in the hands of himself and the leaders of his National Socialist Party. He introduced conscription in its most complete and universal form. He organized the whole youth of Germany and indoctrinated them in a set of horrible dogmas, such as the cult of blood and soil, the nobility of war and sacrifice, the vileness of Jews and the worship of the German racial state. This gave him a steadily increasing proportion of the German people wholly conditioned to his leadership. He took charge of the press, publishing, and propaganda, and undermined the independence and the influence both of the old centres of learning and of religion. He established control over the whole economic life of Germany and organized both people and industry at tremendous speed, for a single purpose, war. His strategic theory, as set out in *Mein Kampf*, is simple. Hitler was convinced that if he could create in the centre of Europe a single, disciplined, entirely militarized state of 80,000,000 Germans, obedient to a single dynamic will, using its gigantic power, backed by diplomatic deception and intrigue, with utter ruthlessness, nothing would prevent Nazified Germany from conquering, or dominating and economically exploiting, its neighbours one by one, until he controlled, first Europe, and

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in the end the greater part of the world, as Rome dominated the then civilized world. The only thing that could prevent such a result would be the weakening of the morale of the German people, the rise of other despotisms as disciplined and as powerful as his own, or the combination of Germany's neighbours in an alliance for self-defence which collectively was stronger than Germany and its allies.

Hitler believes, and has repeatedly said, that he has created a Germany which will be stronger than the other despotisms, and that the democracies are so degenerate, feeble, and divided that they will neither arm nor unite in time. His central doctrine is stated in *Mein Kampf* as follows:

'Do not ever permit there to be formed in Europe two continental powers. If there is any attempt to organize on the frontiers of Germany a second military power—even if only in the form of a state which might acquire such power—we should see in it an attack on Germany. Consider that it is not only your right but also your duty to prevent by all means and at need by arms, the constitution of such a state. If it already exists, destroy it.'¹

So much for Hitler's belief in the equal rights of all nations. This method was, in fact, the Roman method. The City of Rome knocked out its rivals one by one and absorbed their resources until, after the overthrow of its last rival, Carthage, it was omnipotent within the immense area which its road system enabled its legions to control. The secret of its success was ruthless violence. Cato used continually to cry, *Delenda est Carthago*, until Carthage was destroyed. One defect of the Roman Empire was that it was a despotism. Another was that there was no room for national freedom within it. That is why it disappeared. These are also the defects of the Hitler Empire. But at least Rome treated its subjects well and eventually made them citizens; whereas their racial doctrines make the Nazis persecute and oppress theirs.

It is extraordinarily difficult for the democracies to grasp what the reversal of Western democratic ideals in favour of a return to the worship of imperialist power as an end in itself implies for themselves. When the gangster first appeared—the man that not merely threatened murder in order to

¹ Volume II, page 754. (Eher: Munich 1939.)

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appropriate other people's property but used murder as a method of social intimidation—society was half paralysed until it organized itself to defeat the gangster by the use of his own weapons. It is the same in international affairs. It is difficult for us to realize that we are living in a world in which power alone counts, in which reason or justice or liberty are no protection against aggression, in which small nations, and for that matter quite big nations, have no rights against the military dictatorships unless they are strong enough by their own strength and valour and strategic situation, or because they stand together for collective action, to resist them. Yet the history of the last few years, of Manchuria, Abyssinia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Albania, Finland, China, and now Denmark and Norway, all goes to demonstrate that that is the kind of world in which we live to-day. Whose turn will it be to-morrow? It is quite certain that the process will not stop until it is resisted by superior force.

On a long view, therefore, what the Allies, France, the British Commonwealth and their friends feel that they are fighting for to-day is to prevent the extension of this new ruthless imperialist system first over Europe and later elsewhere, because its victory would be fatal not only to their own freedom but to free civilization itself. It would begin a new Dark Age. Indeed, we, the Allies, now feel that we are the last bastion of freedom in Europe. If we went down there would be nothing left in Europe, Asia, and Africa which could resist totalitarian domination. There is not a small nation in Europe which does not feel this to-day. That is why the whole of Europe is waiting to see the result of the grim struggle which is now joined in the West and which will determine the kind of world we are to live in for centuries to come.

There is no doubt that the Allies, being democracies, were late in making their preparations. Democracies hate war and are reluctant to accept the discipline or to pay the price. They put welfare before power. We were certainly late in combining for mutual protection in Europe. If the Scandinavian countries had had a firm pact of mutual assistance, Russia would probably never have attacked Finland, and if it had it

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would have been easy for the Allies to have sent assistance. The Allies, therefore, have been caught relatively unprepared. Our first task is to make quite sure that Hitler and his allies, whoever they may be, cannot win victory over us. By entering the war when we did we have gained eight invaluable months for preparation. We have never been under any illusions that the task we have set ourselves will not be a long and formidable one. From the beginning we have said that it would take three years. You must not expect immediate miracles all over the world from a nation which numbers only 47,500,000 souls, a third of your own size. In the last war the Allies had Russia, Italy, and Japan, and at the end the United States, on their side. To-day the Allies are fighting alone, though with the sympathy of the vast majority of nations behind them. It may be, as in other wars we have fought, that our only really victorious battle will be the last.

Despite appearances we have already, as General Ironside has said, passed the most serious danger. There was a time when we were short of nearly everything. We introduced conscription only last June and our aeroplane production was low. It is certain that if Hitler believed that by an unlimited Blitzkrieg he could destroy Britain or France he would unloose it, because the destruction of the French Army or the British Navy would open the shortest and most decisive road both to the conquest of Europe and to dominance in the world. Indeed, General Goering still threatens it. At the beginning of this month he declared in a speech that 'having their flank and rear secure the German armed forces are in one firm bloc facing England and France. It is here that the decisive blow must be struck, and for this decisive blow the Führer has mobilized all his resources. It will fall when the Führer has decided to put an end to the war.' The Scandinavian campaign may be the beginning of this attack.

But if Hitler does not launch the attack on the West in the next few months, it will be proof that the Allied blockade has already sufficiently diminished his stocks and his power to replenish them that he does not dare to face total war, and that the development of air strength by France and Great Britain has been so rapid and so efficient that the German

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air force, long as it has been in development, recognizes that it cannot overcome it.

Our first task, then, is to prove once and for all that the primary Nazi plan of campaign which seeks the rapid overthrow of France and Britain cannot succeed. Our second is to mobilize the immense resources at our command so as to be able either to knock out the Nazi power, or to convince the German people that the road to freedom and prosperity for themselves also is substitution for the Nazi regime of a government whose main purpose is not aggression and in whose word the rest of the world can trust. I cannot tell you when that time will come. I am not in the secrets of the Allied General Staff. I can only say two things. The first is that the struggle is not likely to be short, unless the Nazi morale breaks, and that it is likely to be fought out quite as much on the diplomatic as on the military front. A new friend may mean a victory without a battle for either side. The second is that it is sometimes said that we seek the break-up and destruction of the unity of the German peoples as an end in itself. That is not true. What we are fighting for is security, security for everybody against aggression and war, poverty and unemployment; security for Germany no less than for her neighbours and ourselves, if she abandons aggression, so that all nations will be free to live their own lives without fear, with secure access to the raw materials and markets of the world.

But we are clear that a peace at present would only play into the hands of despotism. It would be no more than a truce—a short interval between two world wars. Now that the battle has been joined, it must be fought out until one system or the other—the free way of life or the despotic way of life—has definitely and permanently a preponderance of power behind it. An indecisive peace would almost certainly mean a victory for the dictatorships, for it is the essence of the Nazi system that it is organized for instant war. Whereas the democracies genuinely demobilize in peace, so that it takes time to mobilize again, the Nazi system, by its nature, is always ready for those lightning blows out of a relatively clear sky which have been Hitler's most successful method of aggression.

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Personally I doubt whether the end of this war will see another great Peace Conference like the last. The basic conditions of the post-war world will be settled by the terms of the armistice, by the question of power, by the fact of where the preponderant power will lie at the time when the 'Cease-Fire' sounds.

Let me consider for a moment the two alternatives. If the Allies win, the foundations will have been laid for the kind of free and liberal world in which the democracies have believed, though they have not yet seen how to create it. Nations and individuals will be once more free. War, of course, in itself constructs nothing. But war is sometimes necessary, as now, to resist aggression and clear the foundations on which the free spirit of man can build constructively and in peace. As I have said, where we failed in 1919 was in our constructive work after the war of liberation was over. We believed that peace would come from freedom carried to the point of international anarchy and from disarmament. It did not and it cannot. Peace only comes from superior power behind law. The dictators saw their opportunity, created power for themselves, and began to remake the world in their own image. What matters more than anything else is that at the end of this war the superiority of power should rest unmistakably in the hands not of the dictatorships but of the free peoples so that it will be they and not the totalitarians who will determine the future.

But what would happen if Germany were to win the war? There would then be an entirely different picture. They can only win the war if they can defeat France and Great Britain and take sea power into their own hands, for it has been sea power which for 150 years has determined the kind of world in which we live. The capture of sea power is, therefore, Germany's central objective, for it is the key to world power. The cat was let right out of the bag during Mr. Sumner Welles' visit to Berlin. You remember the statement which was issued by the Ministry of Propaganda in Berlin at that time. Germany's terms for peace were that Great Britain and France should cease to interfere in Central and Eastern Europe, that the British 'stranglehold' on the seas

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should be ended, and that Gibraltar should be restored to Spain.

There was a time, in the fifteen years after the Great War, when it was possible for Germany to argue that the French alliances in Eastern Europe were restrictive of Germany because they were the main support behind the discriminatory clauses of the Treaty of Versailles. But these alliances were also designed to protect the small nations of Eastern Europe from having their liberty and independence forcibly taken away from them. The need for them has become more clear now that they have gone, and Czechoslovakia and Poland are in consequence the prostrate victims of Nazi aggression. When France and Great Britain say that they are interested in Eastern Europe they do not mean that they want to restrict any of Germany's natural rights there. What they mean is that, partly for reasons of their own security, they want to see Europe organized not as a number of prostrate peoples enslaved by the Gestapo but as a company of free nations united by some form of federal organization. What we think that Hitler means by demanding that France and England should renounce all future interest in Eastern Europe is that Nazi Germany should be allowed to destroy the independence of the smaller nations there, enslave their populations, and organize their resources for the furtherance of its own imperialist and warlike purposes without let or hindrance by anybody else. We do not think that Hitler is interested in the rights of other nations. His conduct shows that. We think he is interested only in power for Germany. What Hitler really resents is that the word liberty should be pronounced at all in relation to Eastern Europe.

Let me turn now to the German thesis about the so-called British 'stranglehold' on the seas. That 'stranglehold', I suppose, refers to the fact that Great Britain possesses a navy larger than that of any other country except the United States and that the British Commonwealth has naval bases all over the world. It is quite true that British naval power was the ultimate power behind the nineteenth-century international system. That system rested on four foundations—currencies based on gold and therefore creating a stable basis

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of exchange; free trade or low tariffs; free immigration; and the prevention, not of all wars, but of world war by the fact that there could be no world war until some other power built a navy capable of challenging that of Great Britain. It was not a perfect system. No doubt in some ways we abused our power. But it did not work badly. Never was there so great an expansion in human prosperity and human freedom as during that 100 years. The system lasted because it also suited almost everybody else. For so far from cramping and interfering with other nations, it promoted self-government and ensured free passage across the seas for capital, people, and goods, and access to raw materials and markets everywhere to every nation, except in time of war. Do you suppose for one moment that if Nazi Germany or Communist Russia obtained command of the seas the world would be anything like as free as it was during that period of British control? Unless everything they have done in the past is misleading, they would indeed 'control the seas' and use their power to compel other nations to conform to their totalitarian ideas, both in the political and the economic spheres.

Consider, too, the significance of the word 'Gibraltar', so lightly thrown in by Dr. Goebbels. It sounds so simple and so fair that that historic rock should be returned to Spain. But supposing the principle were adopted that all naval bases should be controlled by the local inhabitants, the Straits of Gibraltar by Spain, Singapore by Malaya, Panama by the Panamanians, and so on, where should we get to? The plain truth is that the so-called command of the seas is what has given some elementary unity and order to the world. Until we reach the point foreseen by Tennyson¹ when a federation of man comes into being which can keep law and order and maintain communication for everybody on equal terms, the real issue is not whether these strategic points should belong to the local inhabitants but whether they should belong to the democracies or to the totalitarians. And in the long run the world will be free or totalitarian according to which side holds them.

But this question of the control of the exit from the Mediter-

¹ In 'Locksley Hall'.

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ranean has a special significance not always realized. If it fell into Nazi hands it would be the end of the British Commonwealth because it would cut our communications both North and South and to the East. It would also profoundly affect the security behind the Monroe Doctrine. The first line of defence of the Monroe Doctrine has always been the fact that the leading naval power in Europe has supported its main principle —ever since Canning, British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, proposed the idea to President Monroe in the days of the Holy Alliance. And that has meant that the exits from Europe to the Atlantic, through the North Sea, the English Channel, past Gibraltar and past the Cape of Good Hope, have been controlled by a power friendly to the Monroe system. The security of the Monroe system has hitherto rested on the fact that the naval bases on both sides of the Atlantic have been in the hands of powers which supported it. The problem of defending it would be transformed if it had to be upheld from one side of the Atlantic and if the other side were held by a power hostile to it.

As a matter of fact, the old British nineteenth-century system has gone beyond repair. We are no longer strong enough to sustain it by ourselves. At the moment you and we share sea power between us, as the word parity implies. Under present conditions we are predominant in the Atlantic, you in the Pacific. The future depends largely upon what respectively we do with our power, each in our own sphere.

Anglo-American relations are always difficult to talk about, especially in time of war when one of us is a belligerent and the other is a neutral, or when the question of sea power is discussed. There are, however, two sayings which each contain the proverbial half-truth which I cannot forbear to quote to-night because they tend to put the question in a humorous perspective. One is the well-known American gag about the attitude of Great Britain, 'England expects every American to do his duty'—that is, come to the assistance of the British Empire when it is in trouble. The other is the British gag about the attitude of the United States, 'America expects the British Navy to defend her right to be neutral.'

I have tried to explain what we in Britain think we are

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fighting for and why we cannot accept a trumped up peace. We believe that we are fighting not only for our existence but to ensure that the basic institutions and ideals which have been the guiding stars of Western civilization for the last 150 years shall not be wiped off the face of Europe and Asia and Africa by the military victory of the totalitarian dictatorships.

In our struggle, unfortunately, we cannot help inflicting hardships on neutral nations. The European neutrals are hit the hardest. The ruthless German submarine and aerial campaign has already sunk 500,000 tons of their shipping—more ships than we have lost ourselves—and killed or drowned more than a thousand of their seamen. At bottom, all European neutrals are on our side because they know that if we win they, and with them the Czechs and the Poles, the Danes and the Norwegians, will retain or recover their freedom, but that in so far as Germany wins, one and all lose their freedom and become dependents of one or other of the dictatorships.

In these circumstances, and because we believe you are opposed to a victory for dictatorship, we hope that you will be able to take a lenient view of the interferences that we reluctantly make with your normal peace-time rights. We realize that when we examine your mails we cause you irritation, and were the positions reversed we should no doubt feel a similar irritation. But I ask you to accept my assurance that examination of this important channel of communication with Germany is a vital part of our economic warfare which we could not give up without serious prejudice to our prosecution of the war. German trade continues and German agents are at work trying to defeat the blockade. It is of essential importance that we should watch the mails everywhere. The examination of mails is not and will not be used to obtain information about ordinary commercial competition and your private affairs. In the present stage of the war the blockade—mainly of materials necessary to the military conduct of the war—is our principal weapon. Every channel into Germany helps to prolong the war, or, if it is a large one, to endanger victory. As regards examination of ships, delays

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and other inconveniences have now been greatly lessened, and I think it is now accepted that there is no discrimination between American and other ships.

When we come to the question of agricultural purchases the situation is more difficult. We are severely rationing our own people, as are the French, partly to reduce consumption at home, partly to compel savings so that they can be lent to the Government. That means the reduction of some of our customary purchases in the United States. On the other hand, we are buying far more in the United States of America than usual. Our purchases in the first year will probably be increased by some \$400,000,000 over our average purchases during the last five years and in the second year by a much higher figure. We are selling our dollar securities back to you to help to pay for these things. We cannot in addition buy as much of your agricultural products as usual. We cannot afford them. Even if we bought fewer aeroplanes we should not want more agricultural produce because our reduced consumption at home and the need for buying from countries who are willing to take our exports makes it impossible. We have great sympathy with the difficulties of American farmers because our own farmers have been in depression for years. Over the whole range of agricultural products we are buying a good deal—about 75 per cent. of normal—and we shall continue to buy what we can. But we cannot buy at the old level. We can buy some corn from you if your prices are competitive. In the case of the much criticized treaty with Turkey, our indispensable ally in this war, the tobacco we have undertaken to buy from her annually for twenty years is less than 10 per cent. of our normal purchases from the United States of America. The object of this undertaking is to enable Turkey to meet interest on war-time loans and to provide an alternative market for her most important product which hitherto she has sold mainly to Germany and the United States, for you in America buy and smoke far more Turkish tobacco than we shall ever do. Finally, in imposing these restrictions we are not thinking at all about post-war trade. They are purely war measures. After the war we hope to return as quickly as possible to multilateral trade, for that

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will be the best guarantee of prosperity for all and against unemployment.

We would only ask you, in considering our actions, to realize that our people and the French people are submitting to hardships which are already very formidable and will certainly become more so, and to weigh the troubles we cause you against the tremendous issues which are at stake in this war.

I have almost finished. I have endeavoured to explain to you the present views of Great Britain about the war in Europe as fairly and honestly as I can. We are convinced that in the end we are going to win, though not perhaps before the world has become a different place from what it is to-day. We do not believe that individual freedom can be permanently extinguished or national freedom permanently destroyed. The world is going to remain a free world, though before that objective is made secure and unemployment is abolished for good, the nations which believe in freedom may well have to face more far-reaching changes than any of us yet realize. For the real remedy for the present tragedy is not mere victory in the war but wiser thinking and better organization, both political and economic, among ourselves. In the long run, example is more powerful than the sword.

But for the moment victory comes first. The menace of Nazi international gangsterdom must be defeated as much in the interests of Germany as of the rest of the world. It is the condition of all else. The British people and the people of France are much closer to each other in every respect than they were in the last war and are prepared to lay down their lives for the cause of freedom not less readily than they did then. The overseas nations, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and many other peoples, are mobilizing their forces rapidly in support. The inexhaustible resources of the territories we control, supported by the machine industry of the United States, ensures in the end an overwhelming mass of offensive power. We believe, too, that there is another power fighting on our side. Whatever may have been our mistakes in the past we believe that principle is now on our side. As compared with the Nazi regime, the Allies stand for tolerance, for liberty, for self-government, for decency in

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the conduct of international affairs. And, as history has repeatedly proved, what force alone constructs has neither permanence nor life. Nothing lasts which is not built on justice and consent. We are sure that in the end, and perhaps after much sacrifice and suffering, we shall win because we believe that principle is on our side. To quote words once used by one of your great Presidents, 'We stand at Armageddon and battle for the Lord'.¹

¹ Theodore Roosevelt at the Progressive Party Convention, 1912.

SPEECH TO THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING UNION AT
THE WALDORF-ASTORIA HOTEL, NEW YORK
14 MAY 1940

IT has always been a matter of surprise to me that the English-Speaking Union has not had a greater measure of popular success. Now twenty-two years old, it stands for something unique in the world. There are many other language societies—French, German, Italian, Spanish. But the English-Speaking Union is based on something much more than common language. It represents, in the first place, a remarkable stream of culture, which does not spring from a single nation, but which is constantly being renewed from the original contributions of many nations.

There are not only the two main parent rivers, from Britain and the United States, with immortals like Chaucer, Shakespeare, Milton, Dickens, Thackeray, and Kipling on the one side of the Atlantic, and Emerson, Hawthorne, Mark Twain, Walt Whitman, Edgar Allan Poe, and their modern descendants on the other. There are also the new streams coming in from Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, India, and many other lands.

What was perhaps the best poem written in the last war, *In Flanders Fields*, was written by a Canadian, Colonel Macrae. South Africa has given us Olive Schreiner's *Story of an African Farm*. From Australia we have Adam Lindsay Gordon and an extraordinary number of great singers. And how many people know that perhaps the greatest of modern cartoonists, David Low, like Katherine Mansfield, the novelist, is a New Zealander?

Nor does the list end with countries which have a large Anglo-Saxon population. Take India. Rabindranath Tagore has won world-wide renown in the field of literature. The greatest orator in English I have ever listened to is Srinivastra Sastri, an East Indian, and Mahatma Gandhi, one of the greatest men of our time, habitually speaks the most admirable and lucid English. English-speaking culture beyond all question has the most diversified basis in the world to-day.

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The fields in which perhaps the English-speaking tradition has had its predominant influence have been the fields of law, politics, and government. English has certainly been the principal carrier of freedom in history. The French language, like ancient Greek, has made a mighty contribution. But I venture to believe that, precisely because of the diversity of national origins within the English-speaking world, English has made a greater.

Consider what the English Bible has meant, with the legion of saints and preachers and moralists who have been created by its pages. In politics there have been, in Britain, Cromwell, Gladstone, John Bright, Burke, Wilberforce—the freer of the slaves in the British Empire—and amazing women like Josephine Butler, who first challenged white slavery, and Mrs. Pankhurst, who won the vote for women in England.

In the United States there has been that extraordinary galaxy of men who fought the Revolutionary War and gave its wonderful constitution to this country—George Washington, Alexander Hamilton, Thomas Jefferson, and many others, culminating in the greatest democratic statesman the world has ever seen, Abraham Lincoln. I believe that history will some day class Woodrow Wilson in that remarkable company.

Among women we have Susan B. Anthony and Jane Addams who created the modern moral social conscience. Turning to the new countries, Canada has produced Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and Sir Robert Borden, who was one of Lloyd George's most sagacious advisers during the Great War. Australia has Sir Edmund Barton, who led the forces of federalism to victory in 1900. South Africa has produced Botha and Smuts. New Zealand was the home of Seddon.

In the pre-eminent field of law and especially in the development of the common law—that principal defender of individual rights—English-speaking names are legion everywhere. Coke and Blackstone from the homeland; John Marshall and Mr. Justice Holmes, from the United States of America; Sir Henry de Villiers from South Africa, and so on.

I could go on half the night citing the extraordinary

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accomplishments in every walk of life of those who speak the English tongue. In doing so I should prove to demonstration that English-speaking civilization is not the monopoly of any race or nation. Its essential characteristic is its world-wide distribution and its extraordinary diversity. How many people know that Lord Rutherford, who died a year ago, one of the world's greatest physicists, was a New Zealander, or that Sir William Osler or Admiral Sims came from Canada?

It is for this reason that the English-speaking world is in its very being the denial of those exclusive doctrines like the Communist doctrine of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Nazi doctrine of the necessary ascendancy of the 'master' German race, the omnipotence of 'blood and earth', anti-Semitism and the other horrible political religions which are seeking to dominate mankind by violence.

The United States, the famous 'melting-pot', is the greatest expression of faith in the brotherhood and equality of man, and of the infinite and varied capacity of the individual once he is given equal opportunity under the constitution that the world has seen. The modern British Commonwealth is not only based on individual rights, consecrated in the Magna Carta, the Bill of Rights, and the Common Law, but has shown the world both that national autonomy must be the foundation of any true international system and that national freedom is not incompatible with a higher constitutional unity.

The literature, the culture, and the oratory of the English-speaking world have nothing exclusive or domineering about them. Wherever they go freedom expands. Nor, because we are members of the English-speaking world, are we less vigorously Americans, or Englishmen, Canadians, or Scotsmen, Australians, New Zealanders, South Africans, or Irishmen. Membership of the English-speaking world, I believe, is a heritage we should be proud of and proclaim with affection but without self-righteousness to the world.

Why then does the English-Speaking Union not flourish more greatly? Why do we not proclaim our community of language and ideals more confidently? The reasons, I believe, are two. The first is that there has been a tendency

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to identify the English-Speaking Union with a single race, the Anglo-Saxon race. That is not in the constitution of the English-Speaking Union, still less is it in its spirit.

But that restricting tendency exists none the less among too many of its members, and that is what keeps away from its company people who belong to the English-speaking world but who are of a different race, French, or Dutch, or German, or what you will. Let us get away from this and welcome every loyal English-speaker on equal terms.

The second reason is a political reason. While we all love freedom and the institutions which protect it, there is as yet no common political purpose within the English-speaking world in the international sphere. Moreover Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa were long suspicious of what they called Downing Street, though the Statute of Westminster has, I think, removed that suspicion.

Then again, too many people in England have talked about the English-speaking world as if it were in some way an English possession. Both of these limitations or defects have got to be overcome if the English-speaking Union is to be the force for liberty, equality, and understanding in the world which it ought to be.

On this occasion it is not possible for me to sit down without saying something about the war.

In the last few weeks the Allies have been going through a bad time. Some of our defects in prescience, promptness in action, and preparedness have been exposed. Needless to say, the great German propaganda machine has exploited our failure in Norway to the utmost, and has endeavoured to rush some European non-belligerents into war on Germany's side on the strength of it.

I am the last to want to cover our weaknesses and defects or not to admit that we have had a local failure. Exposure is the first step toward their remedy. I have no doubt that there are follies and stupidities as well as crimes on the Nazi side—I am sure that Hitler would not dare to hold a solemn inquest upon them, as we did last week.

Let us, therefore, see the Norwegian episode in perspective. Norway believed that its security and its best chance

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of avoiding war lay in maintaining its neutrality, and it refused all help or co-operation until it was actually attacked.

History, I think, is going to prove that that view of neutrality has been one of the great illusions of the democracies and that it is the surest road into war. But profiting by this fact Germany prepared the most complete act of highway robbery on an unsuspecting and harmless neighbour since the siege of Troy. In the first few hours the Nazi High Command seized all Norway's good harbours and practically all its aerodromes, and, by occupying Oslo by treachery, completely dislocated the government and communications of the country.

The Allies were then faced by a most difficult decision. If we were to accept Hitler's chosen field of battle all the odds were against us. He had the interior lines, the shorter line of communication, the airports, and the harbours. We had to transport our troops, our aircraft, our guns and equipment across some hundreds of miles of sea, land them in ill-equipped little harbours in the face of constant bombardment from the air, and then get them embarked across the centre of Norway in the face of superior forces.

Personally, I was doubtful at the time whether such a policy was a sound military decision. But we decided to attempt it, partly to try to bring help to Norway, partly because we could not afford, politically, to have it said that no small nation need look to us for assistance, partly because we thought that the forlorn hope might come off.

No doubt there were some military blunders and delays. There always are. In this event we were unable to save Norway. But we were able to prove that though almost every circumstance was adverse the air was not master of the sea.

Despite the difficulties we were able to land troops. Our ships were continually bombed. Day after day I read in the telegrams that 100 or 150 bombs were dropped, but that no ships had been hit. What experience did prove was that such operations as we undertook were almost impossible without plenty of local aerodromes and locally based aircraft.

When it became clear that the forlorn hope could not succeed in saving Norway or in establishing us firmly in a large part of that country, we decided to cut our loss and get

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back in time to the main theatre. Then, also, we were able to get our troops and ships away, again without serious loss.

And now the decisive battle has begun in the West. Whether Hitler is confident that he can win or whether he realizes that he must win this summer or not at all I cannot pretend to know. From the start we said that the war would be a three-year war; that in the first year, because like all democracies we had delayed our preparations too long, our principal task was to avoid defeat, so that we might have time in which to mobilize our immense resources for the second year and after.

Let me quote you but one instance of the extent of the preparations which are being made in the overseas English-speaking countries. The training scheme for pilots now being rapidly developed in Canada seeks to turn out no less than 50,000 pilots a year, though many of the student pilots will come from other parts of the British Commonwealth. Australia is undertaking a similar training scheme though not on so large a scale because it is sending many of its pilots to be trained in Canada.

New Zealand is doing the same, and South Africa is rapidly building up a formidable aerial force for the defence of South and Eastern Africa up to the Suez Canal. Many of the machines which these Canadian pilots will use will come from the great Allied programme now being manufactured in the United States.

Meanwhile, Hitler evidently means to try to gain a decision this year, before these new resources are ready, and to induce the other military dictatorships to come in this year also on his side, in order to weigh the balance against us.

The issue is nakedly clear. On the one side are those ideals of individual freedom, national self-government and democracy which have slowly evolved under Christian influence and for which the English-speaking world unflinchingly stands. On the other side is a system which respects none of those spiritual values and has subordinated everything else to preparing for aggressive war, and which uses violence to the limit and utterly regardless of any moral restraint in order to establish its pagan dominion over mankind.

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The next thirty days may determine whether there is to be any effective barrier left to the domination of all Europe, Asia, and Africa by the dictatorships, leaving America isolated and alone to champion a free way of life, or whether Hitler's method of conquest by violence and fraud receives its first serious check, and mankind, though the struggle will be far from over, begins to breathe more freely again.

I have no doubt that in the end freedom will prevail. The only question is the amount of suffering we bring upon ourselves before we learn our lesson. The war of 1914 was unquestionably a war of liberation. But the democracies threw away their opportunity by their selfishness and lack of vision. For that none of them can claim an alibi.

Then, when the menace of dictatorship raised its head once more, we and all the other democracies tried to evade the responsibility of decision. We in Britain can now see clearly enough the consequences for ourselves of our inability to break through uncertainty and indecision until it was almost too late. But in the end, after no one can tell what suffering, we, because we are free men and women, will do what is necessary, not only for victory, but to prevent such a catastrophe from overtaking mankind again.

Freedom creates a resisting power greater than authority, and in the end adversity may drive the free peoples to see that the application of the principles of constitutional unity and government which were worked out in your great constitution a hundred and fifty years ago, in some novel form, are the only means whereby mankind can assure themselves of lasting liberty and peace.

So, despite all the murk and gloom of the time, I am not depressed or afraid. We live in the greatest era of history. There stand before us two naked alternatives. On the one side Western civilization may, for a time, take a plunge back into a darker age than we have ever known before. On the other we may rise to levels of national unselfishness, and vision, and dedication which may give to mankind the greatest new birth of freedom it has ever known. It is on us that the responsibility for this fateful decision rests.

SPEECH TO THE CANADIAN CLUB OF NEW
YORK, 28 MAY 1940

WE have just drunk the health of The King. I am glad we have done so because The King symbolizes those very qualities for the lack of which our modern democracies find themselves in their present distress. It is now apparent, I think, that they have underrated—even despised—what I may call the soldierly qualities, as an essential ingredient in citizenship. I do not, of course, mean the militarist qualities, which are quite different. The true soldier—the happy warrior shall I say—is one who goes through life cheerful, helpful, enjoying its satisfactions and amenities to the full, but with the overriding sense that he is dedicated to a cause far greater than himself. If that cause calls he will instantly lay down his life for his friends, will instantly leave wife and child, will instantly sacrifice peace, prosperity, or ease. To him—or her—for women are also soldiers—self takes a second place.

The soldierly quality is one of the essential attributes of true manhood and citizenship. The true soldier is the exact opposite of those whom Dante put inside the Gate of Hell—those, as he said, who were neither for God nor against Him, but only for themselves. To be a soldier of the spirit is one of the specific marks of a true Christian. This is a truth which the democracies have largely forgotten. They have forgotten that the price of freedom is eternal sacrifice. They have interpreted it to mean the right of everyone to do as he pleases so long as he does not directly injure his neighbour. This lack of dedication to something greater than themselves is one of the main reasons why they have been unprepared and why they have been disunited in meeting the greatest menace to freedom that the world has ever seen—a menace which is formidable precisely because Hitler has been able to enlist those very soldierly faculties for unselfish service and sacrifice for the cause, not of freedom, but of imperialist domination.

It is this soldierly quality, I feel, that King George VI and

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his gracious Queen predominantly represent—the simple readiness to do their duty—to give their lives and all that they possess for their people and the cause they fight for. And if liberty is going to survive, it is precisely this quality that the democracies must put on.

An American newspaper, the *Boston Post*, had the discernment to see something of this in December last. Every year it chooses what is called the 'Man of the Year'. In the past it has chosen Stalin, or Hitler, or the Pope, or some other eminent person. For 1939 it chose King George, for it believed that 'True greatness lies in morality and true worth in character': 'To be a King', it said, 'in a constitutional monarchy is not to be a dictator, or a leader, either in the field of battle or the field of politics.'

'It is to be a symbol of a race, which is now embattled in a fight for conscience and freedom, against calumny, treachery and destruction. It is to be a man who walks alone among all his fellows, bearing on his shoulders the aegis of empire, of unity of far and diversified lands beyond the seas.

'This King and Emperor is one upon whose domain the sun never sets, and upon whose own personal bearing depends the integrity of the whole.

'Thus upon this man, a common man of honourable bearing, descends the responsibility, terrible in its import, of maintaining through the agonizing days and hours of national life the symbol of decency in human behaviour.

'To his credit he carries on with character and fine manhood, day and night.

'He represents decent living, the love of home and family, for which all men have battled since the beginning of time. He faces, apparently, the travail of the future with the courage which will eventually overwhelm the false gods of tyranny.'

SPEECH AT THE ANNUAL COLUMBIA
UNIVERSITY ALUMNI LUNCHEON, 4 JUNE 1940

THE honour which Columbia University is conferring upon me to-day is a tribute, I feel, not to myself but to my country, which with its Allies is fighting stoutly, but against heavy odds, to preserve free civilization in Europe. You in the United States, like my fellow countrymen at home, have certainly been shocked, perhaps almost stupefied, by the events of the last two months and by the possibilities which now loom ahead. We have been told often enough by Herr Hitler and the Nazi Party that they were the heralds and the authors of a world revolution which would leave nothing of the old liberal and democratic order unchanged. But, until recently, we have been unable to bring ourselves to believe that this Nazi world revolution could possibly come true. That revolution, of course, is at bottom only a reversion to tyranny, to what the Greeks call barbarism, but to tyranny armed with the terrific power which modern science and technology, ruthlessly used, can place in its hands. Ultimately it is aimed at freedom of thought and freedom of conscience. Freedom, once said Mussolini, is dead. It was only a bad dream. Truth also is dead, say the Nazis. Truth is only the will of the strong and the propaganda they put forth. That is why the advance of National Socialism is so menacing both to the University and to free religion. For it challenges the central foundation upon which modern civilization has been built, the insistence on individual moral character, on integrity of mind in education, integrity of conscience in religion, integrity of public spirit and responsibility in the citizen. All of these are to be broken, where the Nazi revolution prevails, because they challenge the irresponsible authority and the unlimited power demanded by the new dictatorial parties, Fascist and Communist, which claim sole control of the State.

The democracies, of course, are in their present confusion and distress not mainly because of any special genius in the totalitarian system, but because they themselves have failed

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to live up to the moral standards by which alone free Governments can live. They won a complete victory for freedom and democracy in 1918. The last world war was in essence a war of liberation. But they failed to consolidate that victory and create that new international order which would end war and assure political freedom and economic justice for all nations which was within their grasp. They failed because they were unwilling to abate their own sovereign selfishness sufficiently to create any effective unity or law among themselves. Dante reserved the outer ring in hell for those who 'were neither for God nor against him but only for themselves'. That is one reason why the democracies are in hell to-day. The other is because the democracies lost the heroic self-discipline of their early ideals and lost those soldierly qualities which are essential to any healthy society, the qualities of manliness and valour in the citizen which spring from the recognition that there is something higher and nobler than self-interest in life, for the sake of which we must hold ourselves ready at any time to lay down our lives, or to leave wife and children, or ease and possessions. That, of course, is the central lesson of Christianity. It is also the central lesson that Hitler and Mussolini have taught their people and is the secret of their success, though they have used the enormous power so generated not for the extension of freedom but for conquest and domination of others.

In the long run Hitlerism cannot win—provided there are enough people to resist it. 'The mills of God grind slowly, but they grind exceeding small.' The brutal savagery of the National Socialist movement will destroy it. But Hitler may well be the scourge of God which will force the free world to abandon the selfishness and materialism which have been its undoing. The last time I saw Woodrow Wilson was in his house on S Street in Washington in 1921. He was broken and twisted by his illness. He spoke of what the League of Nations ought to mean to mankind. Then he said to me: 'This thing will have to be done all over again at five times the cost.'

Since I came to the United States as Ambassador I have always endeavoured to speak perfectly frankly to the American people. I think it is the duty of the free peoples to put

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before one another exactly what they think, provided they leave one another perfectly free to draw their own conclusions for themselves.

The situation is grave, more grave, I think, than most of us yet realize. There is not now the slightest doubt that Hitler and his totalitarian associates and allies mean to dominate and remake, if they can, not only Europe, but the world. As he foretold in *Mein Kampf*, Hitler has now created in Europe the central agency for his revolution, a mass of military and aerial power, based on the devotion, the organizing ability, and the unceasing labour of 85,000,000 Germans under a single despotic leadership. This terrifically powerful organism, equipped with unlimited numbers of every conceivable weapon of war and deception, he is using—as he said he would—with utter disregard of international standards hitherto respected, to deceive and conquer other peoples and to absorb such of their territory, their population, their economic resources, as he needs to expand the power and dominion of the rulers of the German race. He has absorbed seven previously independent States—Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Denmark, Norway, Holland, and Belgium. Each one of these conquests has meant that the resources at Hitler's disposal and the strategic security of Germany has been increased and that the forces available for resistance have been diminished. Moreover, none of these States, according to Hitler's plan, are going to be restored to independence at the end of the war, if he wins. They are going to be turned into satellite provinces, disarmed, with their economics controlled from Berlin, their free culture challenged.

Hitler is now bent on doing exactly the same thing, probably with the assistance of Italy, to France and England. If he wins, they also are to be disarmed and made subservient to the Gestapo, and rendered incapable of exercising any further independent influence in Europe, or indeed the world. Hitler means to take from them those key strategic positions which will make it impossible for any nation to oppose effective resistance to his domination.

To us, of course, the programme is unbelievable. That is

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what has been our undoing. We have all thought that the revolutionary blue prints described by Rauschning and in *Mein Kampf* were incredible. Do you think that Denmark or Norway, Holland or Belgium, would have pinned their faith in neutrality and refused to enter into any arrangements for common defence, either with one another or the Allies, if they had grasped what Hitler was really after and the methods he was going to use against them?

We do not think that it is going to be possible for the world to remain for long half Nazi and half free. That would be unendurable for free and peace-loving men. Therefore we mean to fight on until we are conquered or until we win victory over this latest despotism. You may ask, do we want your help? My answer is, 'Of course we want your help, any help in munitions you can give us. And without delay.' But what you do about this is for you yourselves to decide. We in England believe that the very essence of free civilization is individual and national responsibility. We therefore accord to you exactly the same freedom of decision as we claim for ourselves.

What Hitler is now after, of course, is the British fleet. For if he can seize that, he steps from the domination of Europe to the domination of the world. The free world was protected for a century after Napoleon by the power of the British Fleet, because Britain for all its mistakes has been a liberal power. Since 1920 that control of the seas has been exercised by you and us jointly. We have controlled the Atlantic, you the Pacific. If Hitler were to get our fleet, possessed, as he and his associates would then be, of many of the resources of Britain, France, Holland, and Belgium, as well as of most of the rest of Europe, he would have made a most formidable breach in that naval Maginot line which has hitherto defended us both. Our control of the seas has hitherto kept that defence line at the borders of Europe and Asia and not at the borders of the Americas and the British Dominions. It has maintained that ancient strategic doctrine: fight your wars as far away from home as possible. If the British Navy were to disappear, the communications of the British Commonwealth would be at Hitler's mercy, and there would be no superior armed power to prevent Hitler

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and his friends and allies from thundering on your doorsteps if they wanted to do so. The tremendous decisions which will present themselves both to you and to us if Hitler's attack on Britain begins to succeed, will not come next year, or five or ten years hence. They are more likely to come upon us this summer or autumn. One of Hitler's greatest gifts is his sense that time is everything in war, and that, as Napoleon said, all war is a struggle for strategic position. He means to get control of the British and French Fleets and the naval bases which are essential to world power, or to destroy them, this year, if he can.

It is not for us to offer you any advice as to what you should do about this grave problem, any more than it is for you to offer us any advice as to what we should do with our Navy, if and when that tragic crisis comes. You are neutral, we are belligerents. Our business is to do everything we possibly can to keep France and Britain fighting and their lands and islands from being conquered. I believe we shall succeed, for our fighting spirit is now thoroughly aroused. We are grateful for the assistance, humanitarian and otherwise, you have given us. We have been mightily cheered by our ability to evacuate our Army from Flanders, despite every effort of the great German machine to capture it, and with them large numbers of our allies too—a total of over 300,000 men. And there is not the slightest doubt, while the Nazis have greater numbers, that man for man and machine for machine we have established ascendancy in the air. We certainly shall not fail for want of trying. We are, indeed, utterly confident of victory for ourselves and all our allies if all those who love freedom play their part.

It was not the naval strength of England which destroyed Napoleon, though that had great importance. It was that there remained somewhere a free country which would not give up the fight, which could not be conquered, which kept afloat the banner of liberty. This it was that gave to the oppressed the hope and the will to resist and which undermined Napoleon's support among his own exhausted and disillusioned compatriots and in the end won the victory of 1815. And so it will be again—so long as we resist.

EXTRACT FROM SPEECH AT THE NEW YORK WORLD'S FAIR, 12 JUNE 1940

MY first act this afternoon must be to express the gratitude in England for the wonderful reception you gave the King and Queen almost exactly a year ago. They both told me how deeply they were impressed by the welcome they were given by the people of this great city at the New York World's Fair.

It is perhaps appropriate at this moment, when the forces of tyranny and of liberty are grappled in war, that the central exhibit at the British Pavilion should be Magna Carta, one of the primary documents of human liberty.

I wonder how many people realize that Thomas Jefferson, who was one of the founders of liberty on this continent, numbered among his ancestors no less than ten signatories to the Magna Carta.

Only yesterday, Italy, though I should rather say Mussolini, entered the war against the democracies. It was, as your President stated, the stabbing of one Latin people in the back by another. But much as we might reprobate that dastardly act, we must not underrate its seriousness from the standpoint of the cause of human freedom.

Italy brings to the side of Hitler, at the moment when France is in the thick of a desperate and heroic struggle against her hereditary enemy, a powerful air force and no less than 100 divisions of infantry. For that I am sure we extend to the French Ambassador our deepest sympathy.

But not only has Mussolini thus stabbed France in the back; he has taken the fateful act which may turn the European war into a world war. So long as Italy kept out, there was a good hope that the war could be confined to Europe itself. As the President told you, France and England had done everything possible to give Mussolini no excuse for entering the war. They had expressed their willingness to try to reach an agreement with Mussolini about Italy's claims and grievances, and they were willing to give a solemn pledge to the President that at the end of the war they would fulfil

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any agreement which had thus been reached. Nothing was excluded from discussion. Mussolini preferred not to negotiate, but to extend the war. His motive is quite clear. Profiting by the superior strength of his master, he hopes to capture for Italy the Suez Canal at one end of the Mediterranean and Gibraltar at the other.

From the point of view of other nations, there would be no advantage in such an exchange. While Britain controls these narrow waters there has been perfectly free passage for all nations. This is certainly not likely to be the case if Mussolini or Hitler controls them. But, by striking at the Suez Canal, Mussolini will inevitably drive the war toward Africa and Asia and, by striking at Gibraltar, especially if he and Hitler can produce a Fascist revolution in Spain, he will open the direct naval route from the Mediterranean across our communications and yours to the South Atlantic.

We are perfectly prepared to meet Mussolini's attack in the Mediterranean. You will notice that South African airplanes are already alongside British airplanes in Abyssinia, and there will be Australians fighting alongside of British troops if Mussolini decides to attack Egypt.

None the less, Mussolini himself, contrary, as I believe, to the wishes of the vast majority of the Italian people, has taken the responsibility of doing the one act which is most likely to convert the European war into a world war. For that, history and the Almighty will hold him responsible.

SPEECH AT THE ANNUAL LUNCHEON OF THE
YALE UNIVERSITY ALUMNI, 19 JUNE 1940

THERE is one vital question which I want to discuss with you to-day. I venture to do so because it affects our two countries directly and because I think it is imperative that we should no longer entertain any illusions about it. We have all been far too much bemused by illusion in recent times.

For more than a century the primary line of defence both of the British Commonwealth and the United States has been the command of the seas. In the last century that command was exercised in the main by Britain. Since 1920, it has been exercised jointly by the United States and Great Britain. Though sometimes there have been difficulties between us in time of war, our sea power has not been used to destroy the independence or legitimate rights of other nations. The seas, except in time of war, have been open to everybody. I doubt if they would so remain if they were under Nazi control. So long as we were superior at sea, you in the Pacific, we in the Atlantic, no hostile fleet or army could approach our shores. Our frontiers were not our coasts but on the other side of the oceans. If we were at war, the war was fought at sea, or in Europe, in Asia, in Africa, and not on our own soil. From our point of view, yours and ours, it was a good system and on the whole the rest of the world thought it was a good system also, because it prevented world war, until the dictators began abusing it a few years ago.

That sea system of security is now under challenge—mainly because of the development of air power. It is certainly Hitler's ultimate and probably immediate objective, because no man better appreciates the value of time, to capture the British and French Fleets, and to destroy England and France as fleet and air bases. For then he will be able to step from the mastery of Europe to world power, because he will then have in his hands the instruments of world power.

It is now only a question of days, or at most a few weeks, before he seems likely to attempt to do to Britain what he

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has already done to France. He will attack us from north, east, and south, by aeroplane and invasion, from Norway in the north to Normandy in the south. He will use against us not only the resources and air bases of Germany but those which he has recently captured from Scandinavia, the Low Countries, and France. He will attempt to overrun Great Britain and capture our fleet, our industries, our half-built ships, our aeroplane factories, our overseas resources. The issue will probably be decided this year, in the next six months, and not next year or two or three years hence.

The outcome of this grim struggle will affect you almost as much as it will affect us. For if Hitler gets our fleet, or destroys it, the whole foundation on which the security of both our countries has rested for 120 years will have disappeared. Hitler and his associates will then control the sea communications between Great Britain and its dependencies, which will be the end of the British Commonwealth as we have known it. And one of the two navies which have hitherto kept all enemies far from your coasts and from South America will be in the hands of powers which, to say the least of it, are insanely imperialist and not too friendly to your way of government and economics. You will then have only one navy to protect a two-ocean front. Moreover, if Hitler beats us the totalitarian powers will possess aeroplane-building facilities, naval and shipbuilding dockyards, and industrial resources all over Europe and especially in Germany, France, and Britain, to say nothing of Italy, which will enable them vastly to outbuild your own defensive preparations, whatever they may be, and to do so indefinitely. Let me be blunt. The only way in which you can avoid being permanently beaten in the race, so far as armaments are concerned, by the totalitarians, is if the armaments and factories of Great Britain and the British Commonwealth and, if it is still possible, of the French Empire, are on your side and not on the side of Hitler and his friends. These are grave facts—very grave. They may thrust themselves into the foreground of decision in a few weeks. It is essential that neither we nor you should entertain illusions about them.

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From letters which I receive and from articles and letters in the Press, it is clear that many people in the United States believe that somehow or other even if Great Britain is invaded and overrun, the British Navy will cross the Atlantic and still be available, through Canada or otherwise, as part of your own defensive system. I hope you are not building on that expectation. If you are, I think you are likely to find your hopes mistaken, that you have been building on an illusion. In the first place it will make a very great difference on which side of the Atlantic the British Fleet is based. The sea defence of the Americas, like that of the British Commonwealth, has really depended on the fact that the British Navy, which since 1823 has been friendly to the Monroe system, has been based on Europe itself and was therefore able to command the exits from Europe to the Atlantic, through the North Sea, the English Channel, the Straits of Gibraltar and past Cape Town. So long as this was the case no hostile ships, except for a few submarines and raiders, could get into the Atlantic at all. You had no serious problem of Atlantic defence. The security of the Americas would be entirely different if these exits and bases were held by a great imperialist power unfriendly to democracy or the Monroe system and your security had to be organized from this side of the Atlantic. To get security you would have to have naval bases far out in the Atlantic, as you have in the Pacific, and in South America. For the seas are only a barrier when they are controlled by a superior fleet. Otherwise they are a roadway to our own doors.

Hitler has just said that once he controls all Europe he will have no interest in or quarrel with America. That sounds plausible enough and Hitler may believe it, as he may have believed the many similar statements he made to Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Scandinavia, the Low Countries, and France. But history does not bear out his contention. It has never been possible to keep systems so different as aggressive totalitarianism and democracy in watertight compartments and at peace. The earth cannot long remain half Nazi and half free. Moreover, the world has always had to have some system of order in it. It cannot

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remain an anarchy of nations or continents for long, especially when it has become so small through the aeroplane and radio. It once had the unity of the Roman Empire. Then it had that of the Holy Roman Empire and the Papacy. Then, after a few centuries of lawless wars and expansion, it was given peace from world war by the British system of the last century. If power goes to Hitler he will have to create some kind of world order which will suit the Nazi political and economic system and to which the rest will have to conform or fight.

There is a second reason why I think it is an illusion for people to believe that in the end the British Navy will pass easily to you. We in Britain shall certainly fight to the end to defend our country because the real Maginot line of defence of the British Commonwealth, as of the Americas, is that Great Britain should continue as an independent power with its fleet based on the British Isles. I am sure that only if we are beaten down and the greater part of the fleet has been sunk in action will the remains of it leave home to assist in the defence of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and other distant parts of the Commonwealth in the Indian Ocean and elsewhere. Quite apart from the difficulties which would arise, if you were neutral, of handing over a fleet designed to protect the British Commonwealth to a power which could not use it for that belligerent purpose, there would be little left over for you. It is my view that we are standing to-day not in the outer trenches of our old joint naval defence system, but in the last trenches, and that if those trenches—namely the British Isles—were taken, we should find that there is no effective line to fall back on, as the French have found once the Maginot line and its extension were turned. The overwhelming superiority in armaments, by sea, air, and land, which would then be in the hands of Hitler and his friends would compel everybody in the end to accept their terms.

I am not concerned to-day to attempt to tell you what you should do in this grave matter. That is your business. But I am concerned that if and when the crisis arises you should not be able to turn on me and say, 'Why did you not

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warn us about these facts, which are vital to our own security, in time, so that we were able to think about them and come to decisions about them, before it was too late?" That is why I have decided to speak to you thus frankly to-day.

I do not want to give a pessimistic impression to-day. I am not a pessimist at all. There are forces fighting on our side of which Hitler knows little. I only plead for realism and honesty in looking the facts in the face instead of for silence or evasion. We in the British Empire are not down-hearted. We believe that Herr Hitler is going to find it a much tougher job than perhaps he thinks to conquer Britain. Our fleet is intact, though the strain on it and particularly on its smaller craft is severe, if Britain has to defend itself from invasion from the East, to protect the convoys entering its Western ports, and to prevent the Straits of Gibraltar from becoming a broad highway of assault across our communications southwards. Our air force has established, I believe, a genuine ascendancy both in morale and material over the German air force. It has been clawing down three or four machines to one, and can with the utmost ease reach the Ruhr. Our people will give a good account of themselves if Hitler's legions attempt to effect a landing, for we believe that the independence of Britain is, literally, the last bastion of freedom in the world to-day and that if Britain goes, it will be very difficult to preserve freedom for long in our present sense of the word anywhere else. We are grateful to you for the help you have sent us, for arms, aeroplanes, and machines. We want from you everything you can send us, as quickly as you can send it. This help may make all the difference. In the struggle that lies ahead, the last few aeroplanes and torpedo boats and the last few ships of food and raw materials may make the difference between victory and defeat. But if we can hold out till Christmas, if we can prove that Hitler with all his brutal violence cannot break our spirit or conquer our island, we shall, I believe, have turned the tide. For Hitler cannot go on for ever. His armies, his stocks, are being exhausted. There is not a race or people which does not long for his overthrow. There are deep misgivings in his own country. The vital sources of his industrial

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power are within bombing range of Britain. The blockade is still effective. If we can last till the dark winter nights are over, till your supplies, your ships, your aeroplanes, are pouring across to our battered land in an ever-increasing flood, the brazen front of tyranny, timid as always in the face of fearless resistance, will begin to doubt. For it will know that there is near it something which is invincible, which is stronger than steel or bomb or explosive—the spirit of a free people—a spirit which, as in the case of Napoleon, in the end will bring down in ruins the edifice the tyrants have reared by violence and fraud, and set free again the nations that have been in chains.

BROADCAST OVER THE N.B.C. WAVE-LENGTH
22 JULY 1940

*Mr. Allen.*¹ First of all, Mr. Ambassador, we were just discussing Hitler's last peace offer from Berlin. And I think the American people would like to know if there is any chance of peace at this time.

Lord Lothian. No, I fear not. The British people sincerely desire peace. But they do not think that they can get anything that can be called a lasting peace by trying to appease Hitler now. We tried that at Munich, and tried it sincerely. We have learnt our lesson. Hitler then declared that the restoration of the Sudetenland to Germany was, to quote his words, 'my last territorial demand in Europe'. It was given him in the hope that other issues, like the colonies, could afterwards be settled by peaceful discussion. But no sooner had he got the Sudetens back than he went on, in defiance of his pledge, to annex by violence and war first Czechoslovakia, then Poland, then Norway, then Denmark, then Holland, then Belgium, and now he is in a position to annex as much of France as he wants. The real difference between Hitler and ourselves is that we genuinely believe in liberty, in liberty for individuals, and liberty for nations, whereas Hitler believes in conquest and domination by a ruling German race. I don't think that Hitler has the slightest comprehension of what you and we mean by liberty.

Mr. Pearson. Lord Lothian, have you, by any chance, ever met Hitler?

Lord Lothian. Yes, five or six years ago, and he said to me very much what he said a few nights ago before the Reichstag, that he was very anxious that Germany and England should work together. I think he meant it. But what he really meant was that we should rule the world together as two branches of the Germanic race, treating all other nations as dependencies. But we just cannot come to terms with Hitler on

¹ Mr. Allen and Mr. Pearson are the authors of the 'Washington Merry-Go-Round', a daily column of political commentary which is widely syndicated in the United States press.

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his basis, for that would mean that we abandoned all the conquered nations of Europe to the Gestapo. Besides, we are sure that after a brief breathing spell Hitler would make demands on us which we should have to fight to resist. Hitlerism cannot stop until it has destroyed freedom everywhere. For freedom anywhere undermines dictatorship. The plain truth is that there is no basis for lasting peace until Europe has been freed from the Gestapo and until Hitler is confronted by a combination of free peoples stronger for defence than Hitler is for aggression.

Mr. Allen. Mr. Ambassador, this may seem like a critical question, but how do you explain Britain's unpreparedness to-day?

Lord Lothian. No, that is a perfectly fair question. I think the main reason was because we—like all other democracies—had after the last war become utterly opposed to war. The League of Nations was popular because it seemed to be an insurance against war. We honestly accepted the ideal of peace and disarmament. We signed the Kellogg Pact with you. We were, therefore, slow and reluctant to admit that we had to rearm to the teeth and prepare for war, as you have been. Thus our Labour Party in England, which is the most stalwart for resisting the aggressors, was also the most reluctant to vote for armament. The basic reason why we did not stand up more vigorously to Japan in Manchuria, to Mussolini in Abyssinia, to the aggressors in Spain, and to Hitler in Austria was because our people were opposed to war. They said to the Government, 'Resist, but only by means short of war'. You must understand that policy well enough, because it is precisely your own policy to-day.

Mr. Pearson. Do you think it was a successful policy?

Lord Lothian. It does not seem to have been a very successful policy so far. It has meant that the democracies have been taken and overwhelmed one by one until there are now only you and ourselves left. The central lesson of the last twenty years is the old saying, attributed first, I think, to Benjamin Franklin, 'If we don't hang together, we shall certainly hang separately'.

Mr. Allen. Lord Lothian, will you tell us what type of

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war material Great Britain would like to get from the United States of America?

Lord Lothian. Most urgently we need destroyers and armed motor boats to assist in preventing the invasion of Britain and to deal with submarines. A hundred of these now might mean the difference between success and failure. In the longer run we need airplanes.

Mr. Pearson. Now that France has been forced to surrender, what do you think about the future of the war?

Lord Lothian. It is always dangerous to attempt to prophesy in war. It is the unexpected that generally happens. But I think one thing is quite clear. If we can prevent the conquest of Great Britain for two years and keep our navy there intact, you will have time in which to rearm, and the Western world will be saved for freedom and democracy.

Mr. Allen. But if Great Britain is overrun this autumn?

Lord Lothian. Then both your prospects and ours are very bad. You have not to-day got an army or an air force of modern size, and you have only one navy for two oceans. Hitler will then have added the resources of Britain to the resources of the rest of Europe he has conquered, and he and his friends will have double—if not treble—the airplane and shipbuilding capacity that you will have, and you will have to face him and his allies, both in Europe and Asia, alone.

Mr. Pearson. Then you think it is in our own interest as well as yours to do everything possible to keep Great Britain going?

Lord Lothian. It is for you to decide what is in your own interest. But I should have thought that it was vital to you that Britain and the British Navy should stay in being until your own rearmament, your two-ocean navy, your fifty thousand airplanes, and your big army were ready. To-day we are your Maginot Line. If that goes, there is nothing left between Hitler and his Allies and yourselves in one ocean or the other.

Mr. Allen. Is there any chance of the British fleet coming over to this side of the Atlantic and fighting for us?

Lord Lothian. It depends on circumstances. Our fleet will

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certainly fight to the end to defend Great Britain, which is the heart of the British Commonwealth. Again, it is far easier to defend Canada and the United States from the European side of the Atlantic than from this side. The first line of the defence of the Monroe Doctrine has always been that Britain held the exits from Europe into the Atlantic, the North Sea, the English Channel, the Straits of Gibraltar, and Capetown, so that nothing but a few submarines and raiders could reach your shores. If these exits are held by a hostile force, they can raid you anywhere. Finally, there is the difficulty that the British Navy, officers and men, will never go to American ports, if that means that they have to become neutral and so are debarred from fighting for their homeland and for Canada, and for Australia, South Africa, and so on.

Mr. Pearson. You know that many Americans are anxious about the future of the West Indian Islands and would feel safer if they were under their own control?

Lord Lothian. We are only concerned, of course, with the islands which belong to the British Commonwealth. We are proud of these possessions which have been with us since long before the United States of America were founded, and their inhabitants are proud of their connexion with England. So long as the British Navy exists they cannot become a menace to you. But you may be certain of this. If there was any question of these islands falling into enemy hands or becoming a menace to your security, we should be the first to want to make some arrangement which would ensure your security.

Mr. Allen. What is the greatest loss Great Britain could suffer in this war?

Lord Lothian. Unquestionably the loss of our freedom. Freedom is the breath of life to us. We could not live under a Nazi system any more than you could. We would be stifled to death, and we just could not stand the brutality of it all. Hitler has inspired youth to sacrifice, but he has also brutalized it. Brutality is not real strength. Real strength is moral strength, and brutality undermines moral strength and in the end destroys those who practise it.

Broadcast

Mr. Pearson. Now, Lord Lothian, you have been extremely generous and we have just one more question—one which everyone in America is asking. Can Great Britain hold out against Germany?

Lord Lothian. We think we can, though we know we are up against a very tough proposition. At the moment, with the magnificent help we are getting from Canadian, Australian, and New Zealand troops in Britain and the Near East, we are one against Europe. But we don't think it is going to be so easy for Hitler to conquer England. Germany certainly understands about land war, but does she understand sea war? Hitler can bomb our cities and factories and ships, but we can bomb his factories and ports and ships in return. Our airmen and air machines are certainly better than his, though he has more of them. We have been hauling theirs down from the skies at least three or four to one in recent weeks. The resolution of our people is very high. There is no sign of his affecting the spirit of either our men or our women by bombing. To conquer England Hitler has either to starve us out or to land and maintain an army there sufficiently large to occupy our country.

Mr. Allen. What is Hitler's most formidable weapon?

Lord Lothian. Fear. Hitler once said, 'If I can make my neighbour afraid of war, I am certain I can defeat him. I first divide him with fear, and then I will destroy him.' That is his technique. Fear is Hitler's greatest weapon. It is the greatest paralyser of moral judgement and courage. That is why he acts so ferociously. It is to intimidate his opponents. Fear, of course, is a bad counsellor, the very worst. We, in Britain, are not afraid of Hitler, of war, of what he can do. If we can hold out till October, when the weather gets bad—as we are confident we can—the tide will have turned. Hitler has to try to conquer and subjugate England by violence or guile, because he knows that a free Britain means in the end a free Europe and the end of his Slave Empire. If he has not overwhelmed us by October, he will have had his first reverse. By next spring we shall be getting the immense increment in airplanes and arms we have ordered from the United States and the British Commonwealth. Europe will

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be beginning to rise against the enslavement and poverty that Hitler has brought upon it. Your own rearmament will be well under way. At any rate, that is our view. We mean to see it through because conscience tells us we must. We are sure that in the end our cause will win. 'Here we stand: we can do none other.'

SPEECH AT THE BRITISH WAR RELIEF SOCIETY'S
GATHERING HELD IN CONNEXION WITH THE
OPENING OF THE BRITISH WAR EXHIBIT AT THE
BRITISH PAVILION IN THE NEW YORK WORLD'S
FAIR, 15 SEPTEMBER 1940

MAY I express the deep appreciation of the British Government for the extremely valuable work done by the British War Relief Societies, and for the extraordinary generosity of the American people in supporting it. A total of over \$600,000 has been collected in the last year and funds are rolling in more rapidly to-day than ever. . . .

It is impossible on an occasion like the present not to refer to the recently concluded arrangement whereby the United States obtained eight new naval and air bases from Newfoundland in the North down to British Guiana in the South and the British Navy received fifty much needed destroyers.

Seldom has an arrangement been made which was so obviously to the advantage of both parties. In the extremely improbable event of disaster overtaking Great Britain the new bases will afford a new line of defence, not only for the United States, but for Canada, the British Colonies in the Americas, and the other American States against an attack from Europe. But I venture to think that at this moment the transfer of destroyers is the more vital part of the bargain from the point of view of the security of the United States no less than from that of Great Britain.

For more than a hundred years the independence of Great Britain and the nations of the British Commonwealth, and the independence of the Americas, has mainly depended on the existence of a Two-Power Navy, based on the British Isles, and able completely to prevent hostile fleets from entering the Atlantic from Europe in time of war. From 1823—the date of the Monroe Doctrine—onwards the Atlantic has in fact been an Anglo-American lake. In time of war, so long as Great Britain and the United States work together, no hostile warships can maintain themselves in the Atlantic except a few submarines and raiders. This makes

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the Atlantic a buffer against, and not a highway for, hostile naval forces. The virtue of this system was seen in the World War, when no attack was able to cross the Atlantic. It has been shown even more conspicuously in this war, when, despite the conquest of most of the mainland of Europe by Hitler, and notwithstanding the development of air power, the forces of the dictatorships cannot challenge the Americas so long as Great Britain's fleet, based on Great Britain, is able to block the passages into the Atlantic, both around the British Isles, past Gibraltar, and past Capetown.

The fifty destroyers are an invaluable addition to the power of the British Navy to do this. I do not think that any naval strategist will dispute the thesis that at present these destroyers are of far more value to the security, not only of Great Britain, but also of the Americas, if brigaded with the British Fleet, than if they were kept on this side of the Atlantic.

In the recent exchange of letters Mr. Churchill reaffirmed the pledge he had given to the House of Commons on June 4 that, if the waters around Great Britain became untenable from enemy action, the Fleet would neither be sunk nor surrendered, but would proceed to defend the British Empire overseas. But the really important thing is that it should remain based on Britain. The British fleet is worth three or four times as much, both to the security of the British Empire and of the Americas, when it is based on the European side of the Atlantic than it would be if it was brought over to the American side of that ocean.

Hitler's supreme objective is to knock out Great Britain and to seize the European entries into the Atlantic if he can this year. Once he has done that, the German and Italian fleets—based on Gibraltar, the French, and even the British ports—could strike, if they wished to do so, at any point of the North and South American coast-line, and so compel the United States Navy to abandon the Pacific. Even if a fleet as big as the British fleet were based on North America and the new naval bases, it would not be able to give one-quarter as good protection to Canada and the Americas as that given by the British fleet so long as it was based on Britain. The

At the British War Relief Society's Gathering

real security for democracy and the democratic nations lies in maintaining a system whereby the British Navy can keep the Atlantic in time of war as an Anglo-American lake, with all hostile forces on the farther side of it, while the United States Navy acts as the ultimate curb on any aggression across the Pacific Ocean. It is the main use of the fifty destroyers to help to maintain the system of security. . . .

In view of the public interest in the subject, I think it well to say a word or two about the question of famine relief in Europe. It is a subject which naturally makes a deep appeal to every humane person. Throughout the discussion there are a few simple fundamentals which ought to be borne in mind. The position of the British Government has recently been made quite clear. There is no question at all of the blockade being lifted.

First, Mr. Winston Churchill struck the nail on the head in a recent speech when he said that if only Germany would release her brutal and cruel grip on these countries and set them free, all the food necessary for their populations would be available without difficulty. Secondly, while Europe lost certain food supplies from overseas, she gained large supplies of bacon, cheese, butter, and other fats which had previously been sent from Denmark, Holland, and other countries to Great Britain. The milk supplies of Switzerland are also available. The root of the present problem lies in the fact that Germany is seizing supplies from Norway, Denmark, Holland, and occupied France, and thus artificially producing scarcity. Some of these food supplies are actually utilized for the manufacture of munitions. It has just been reported that Germany has demanded supplies from unoccupied France also. Thirdly, in addition to the seizure by Germany of food, the requisition of oil supplies has disorganized transportation in France and other European countries, and this is a further main cause of the trouble. It is perfectly well understood to-day that Germany is denuding the countries she has overrun of large quantities of food and other materials and that if more food is sent in from outside it will simply mean that more of their own existing supplies will be taken away from these countries by Germany for her own use.

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For the present, however, the central fact is that the harvests in every country of Europe have just been reaped. Whatever may be the position in the future, there is enough food in Europe to-day and for many months to come, provided it is allowed to remain in the countries in which it is produced, and that a certain amount of intelligent distribution of surpluses is carried out.

SPEECH ON NEW ZEALAND DOMINION DAY,
26 SEPTEMBER 1940, AT THE NEW ZEALAND
PAVILION AT THE NEW YORK WORLD'S FAIR

THIS year New Zealand celebrated its centenary as the youngest democracy in the Pacific. This stalwart and vigorous population of 1,600,000 people, inhabiting one of the most beautiful scenic countries in the world, gave the lead to the world in modern social reform. Its dynamic Premier Richard Seddon inaugurated about fifty years ago many of the reforms which are now commonplace in every modern democracy. Dairying is the main industry of New Zealand and its principal export is butter for the European market.

But to-day, not for the first time, it is the grimmer side of life—guns rather than butter—with which New Zealand is concerned. New Zealand has never succumbed to the philosophy of pacifism in international affairs and preoccupation with individual comfort which have rotted so many of our democracies in the modern world. During the World War of 1914 it sent overseas no less than 110,000 men, of whom 17,000 lost their lives. To-day for a small country it is putting out an even greater effort in order to defend free civilization against the menace of totalitarian aggression. You all remember the thrilling battle which preceded the scuttling of the *Graf von Spee* off Montevideo. How many Americans realize that the gallant little *Achilles* was manned and fought by New Zealanders? Already New Zealand has sent abroad 23,000 soldiers and there are many more in training and for home defence. But it is in the Air Force that it is making its greatest effort. Already the strength of the Air Force is over 400 officers and men. Under the Empire Air Scheme New Zealand will each year provide 880 trained pilots to go direct to England, 530 partly trained pilots to be sent to Canada for completion of training, with 1,400 observers and air gunners. This means that over 3,500 trained personnel will proceed overseas each year until victory is won.

There has long been a friendly feeling between the United States on the one hand and New Zealand and Australia, its two Pacific neighbours, on the other, who in many ways share

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its own ideals and methods of life. But I doubt whether the people of the United States realize the significance of the two countries from the point of view of its own security and defence in the Pacific.

I have already described briefly New Zealand's contribution. In addition Australia has a small but formidable navy of its own. The Australian cruiser *Sydney* sank only a few weeks ago in the Mediterranean the *Bartolomeo Colleoni* which was supposed to be the fastest cruiser in the world. Australia too has already sent tens of thousands of volunteers to Britain and the Middle East and has many more in training. The total voluntary enlistments for overseas service is 123,000 together with an army for home defence which is rapidly being advanced to 250,000. Australia already has 20 air squadrons with more than 33,000 men accepted for training for air service overseas. The Australian air training scheme will turn out a steady flow of between ten and twenty thousand pilots and other members of the air service a year to aid Britain and to strengthen the security of the Pacific.

People sometimes speak of Australia and New Zealand as two isolated nations looking for help from outside. It is quite true that both rely mainly on the British Navy for their long-distance defence, which is one reason why they always come so stalwartly to the assistance of the Mother Country in time of trial. But a truth which is sometimes overlooked is that they themselves are nations which can contribute a great deal to the security of the Pacific itself from their own strength. Take the Air Force alone, the total number of pilots and air crews who will be available every year from these two countries for Empire air defence will not fall far short of 25,000 a year. If ever the security of Singapore or the Dutch Islands or the islands of the Southern Pacific is challenged by the Dictators you can rest assured that they will encounter a most formidable resistance from the ever growing organized strength of Australia and New Zealand. It will be able to strike with immense speed over the far-ranging spaces of the Pacific right up to the corner bastion of Commonwealth security in the East, the great naval base and fortress of Singapore.

SPEECH BY SIR WALTER LAYTON TO THE
ASSOCIATED INDUSTRIES OF MASSACHUSETTS
17 OCTOBER 1940

LORD Lothian's visit to England prevented him from keeping his engagement to speak at Boston on October 17. He had, however, discussed with Sir Walter Layton what could be said to convince America of the scale on which help for Britain would be needed. While this speech was composed and delivered by Sir Walter Layton, it was fully accepted by Lord Lothian as an exposition of his own views.

Before leaving Washington on October 15, Lord Lothian wrote the short note to the Chairman which is given below. This note briefly outlined the ideas developed more completely in his last speech (see below, page 132).

I AM extremely sorry that I cannot fulfil my engagement to address the members of the Associated Industries of Massachusetts to-night. Unfortunately in war-time necessity drives and I have been called home for a general consultation after a year of war. I would have liked to express the indebtedness of my country to the factories and workshops of the United States and to the men, both employers and employed, who stand behind them.

I do not need to tell you—for your Press and American visitors to my country do generous justice to it—of the fight we have waged in the last six months. Our Prime Minister's speeches are luminous statements of the changing position and prospects of the war, and of the spirit, grim and gay, in which we all mean to see this thing through, and to rid the world of concentration camps, secret police, and domination by bombing planes.

To-day, if we are to repel this totalitarian attack, two things are necessary. The first is that we of the British Commonwealth should stick it out till you are rearmed. The second is that you should develop your own production of armaments just as fast as you possibly can. The one certain way of keeping the bombs from your own cities and towns is so to equip the peoples of the British Commonwealth that they can hold that great ring of key positions—Great Britain itself, Gibraltar, South Africa, Suez, Singapore, and Australasia—which control the oceans, and which so long as they can be held will prevent the war from surging up against the North and South American shores.

That is why I am glad that Sir Walter Layton, who can speak with far more authority than I can do on the munition problem, is here to-night to tell you what we need and why we need it.

NO one in this room regrets more than I do that Lord Lothian is not able to be here to-night. At the same time,

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it is a great honour at this moment to be asked by the Ambassador to speak for Britain to such an audience as this, and to be the bearer of a message from Old England to New England. My countrymen are proud that Fate has called upon the British people to stand at the frontiers of freedom and bar the way against those evil things which have been let loose in Europe. No one would deny that the enemy has given proof of courage, resourcefulness, and audacity. But there our admiration ends. Behind those qualities lie the fundamental issues which divide us— freedom versus slavery; toleration versus tyranny; mercy, humanity, and truth versus barbarism, cruelty, and lies. The British people know instinctively that conditions evolved by mankind over hundreds of years, which are essential to the good life in a free society, are to-day in their keeping.

I do not, of course, suggest that the man in the London street thinks in such highfalutin terms as these. He takes a simpler view. But he realizes in his own way that this is the crisis of our fate, and he is shouldering the discomfort and suffering which has been thrust upon him with a cheerfulness that is past praise, and without the slightest thought that Britain can possibly be defeated. Not long ago, a passenger in a London bus who was discussing the progress of the war referred to the number of countries that had been knocked out of the fight—Poland, Norway, Holland, Belgium, and finally France—to which the conductor replied with a grin, 'That sounds pretty good to me—it means we've got into the final'.

The achievements of our sailors and airmen are known to all the world. No words of mine are adequate to tell the story of the few thousand young men who at this moment have in their hands the fate of the world. But it is not our fighting men only who stand between Hitler and his triumph. The men, women, and children of London to-day are in the front line. On their behaviour no less than on the heroism of the Royal Air Force, the result of the war will turn. In the phenomenon of London's resistance, Hitler has run up against something unexpected—to wit, the will, the stamina, and the inbred tradition of a nation of free men and women,

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who, without pomp or parade, are quietly determined to endure suffering and death rather than surrender. There is no argument going on in London to-day about the war. There is simply the job of carrying on. Any other course is just unthinkable.

The impulse which has rallied the country as one man behind Mr. Winston Churchill is that Britain must remain free. It is more than a crude instinct of self-preservation, it is an inbred sense that there will always be an England, and that nothing can crush the things for which it stands.

Yet there are many at home who are inspired by something greater even than this. It is the thought that at this moment England is the only hope of scores of oppressed nations, and that when we have emerged triumphant from this ordeal freedom will rise once more all over the world. It is an inspiration to know that we have the secret prayers of untold millions who are to-day suffering under the tyranny of Hitler's Gestapo. The British people realize that these enslaved peoples have pinned their faith on our resistance. We shall not let them down.

The confidence, however, which the people feel is not only based on such intangible things as grim determination or high ideals. It is supported by the evidence of material achievement. I will try to carry out Lord Lothian's instructions and give you as realistic a picture as possible of what we have done and what lies before us.

When the British Expeditionary Force was withdrawn from France in that historic evacuation from the Belgian coast, the Army left behind, as all the world now knows, practically the whole of its equipment—its guns, its ammunition, its tanks, its motor transport, all the material which had been produced in the years of rearmament. For, let there be no mistake about this, England, which had assumed in former years that our task would be to guard the seas and meet Germany in the air, had thrown into the land battle all that she had of trained men and equipment. When the men of Dunkirk arrived in England with nothing but what they stood up in, the cupboard was very, very bare indeed, but in the ensuing two and a half months a complete trans-

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formation took place. Before the end of August Mr. Churchill was able to say that we had in England the largest and most fully equipped army that had ever stood to arms within our island. This transformation was due partly to the fact that the armament orders which had been placed in the previous summer were beginning to mature, partly to the renewed vigour which workers and management alike put into their work in the munitions factories, and partly to the very prompt aid we received from the United States in the shape of the release of surplus material. We cannot be too grateful for the speed with which the decision was taken, and artillery, rifles, and machine-guns were shipped to England.

In the last few weeks the air attack on Britain, which began in the middle of July, has developed far greater intensity, particularly on the London area. The effect of this attack upon our war effort is not merely a matter of physical damage—that is the least important part. It affects munitions output because of the time lost in air-raid shelters, and by the dislocation of the transport services, which means that the workers cannot get to and from their work promptly to time, and that inevitable delay is caused to the shipment of material and finished goods. Yet every worker in Britain knows that victory depends on his making up for lost time as soon as he gets back to his bench, and every transport worker realizes that the battle which he sees going on over his head may depend upon whether he delivers his load to time. All eye-witnesses bear testimony that the people have been remarkably resourceful in adapting themselves to this new and adventurous way of living. But it is not impressions that count. The final test is the test of figures, and on that test the evidence is conclusive. *Since the Blitzkrieg started, Britain's output of munitions has continued to rise.* I do not propose to give you any figures that would be useful to the enemy, but as one example I will give you, in the form of a ratio, the output of shells of all kinds in Great Britain. If we take the output of the first week of August, before the mass attacks on Great Britain began, as being represented by the figure 100, the output in the first week of September, when the Germans started the first of the great fires in London,

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had risen to 108. In the first week of October the figure was 126. In other words, the Germans have failed to prevent a more than 25 per cent. increase in two months.

I do not want to give any impression of false optimism by suggesting that no loss of output is being sustained. The concentration on London has left the rest of the country comparatively free from raids in the last four or five weeks. But the output of goods whose production is centred in factories in the London area has been much reduced, and London and the Home Counties are an important industrial area. We have, however, been planning for many months to scatter production and avoid having too many eggs in one basket. This process has been hastened since the collapse of France. One purpose of my discussions here has been so to arrange production of munitions in the United States that it will be an insurance to our own production, which can at short notice make good temporary deficiencies in Great Britain which would otherwise throw our munitions programme out of balance. I will only add that the experience of loss of output from air-raid warnings or from actual damage to plant is comfortably within the limits of the insurance which we had calculated that we might need in this country.

But while the experience of the past month is reassuring and gives confidence that our war effort will gather great momentum, it would be foolish not to face frankly the scale of the task we have before us. The fighting qualities of our people speak for themselves. The problem is to ensure that the planes, the guns, the tanks, and the ships at our disposal surpass those of Germany in quantity as well as in quality.

In this respect we are far behind except on the sea. Consider for a moment Germany's land armament. At the time of the attack on France we had no reason to doubt that Hitler was right when he claimed that Germany had over 200 divisions under arms. This almost certainly means that Germany had at that time double the amount of artillery and of small-arms, and far more than double the number of tanks at the disposal of England and France, without counting in the resources of Italy. To-day the land armaments of

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part of France, of Belgium, of Holland, Czechoslovakia, and many other countries are at Germany's disposal. The ratio of land armament at the moment must therefore be four or five to one. Clearly we cannot match Germany's army supplies for a long time to come. Germany, therefore, does not need to manufacture guns or ammunition and can concentrate on aircraft. And even if she wished to increase her guns and tanks, she has not only her own armament works, but the great factories of Skoda, Creusot, and many others at her disposal. Fortunately, a strip of sea lies between us and this continental army, and until Germany can command the sea and air it cannot be deployed against us.

Or consider Germany's war potential from the point of view of the future. There is no simple test of armament capacity, but the industrial resource of a nation is sometimes thought of in terms of steel output. Before the war Germany's output reached 22 million ingot tons a year. That of England and France was 23 million ingot tons. In other words, in this respect the antagonists were equal, while Britain and France could look to countries overseas to tilt the balance in their favour. To-day Germany has at her disposal the steel output of France, Belgium, Luxemburg, Czechoslovakia, Italy, and Poland. This, with her own production, amounted in peace time to 42 million ingot tons a year compared with the 15 million ingot tons a year of Great Britain. In other words, a situation where steel output was evenly balanced has been changed to one where, if Europe alone is considered, the balance is three to one against us. If this were an exact test of future military strength the outlook would be very unpromising. Fortunately this is not the case. Even in Europe the odds are not as severe as these figures suggest. First, the blockade is keeping Germany short of many vital products for war purposes, such as ferro-alloys, tin, rubber, or lubricating oil. Secondly, a purely statistical comparison cannot be regarded as a measure of military force without taking into account many other factors which affect the issues of war. It is, for example, not to be assumed that Germany will be able to exploit to the full the resources of conquered countries. Nor can we doubt

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that the steady pressure of sea power on the economic life of Europe and its morale will in the long run influence Germany's productive efficiency. Again, ascendancy in the air will be of vital importance, and even during the months when that issue may still be in doubt, Great Britain has the advantage of drawing part of its supplies from the untouched factories of the New World, whereas Germany's main industrial centres are in the west of Germany and are well within the range of British bombers. Finally, and most important of all, as our military strength develops, the British Empire is in a position to choose fields and conditions of battle in which the strength of the German Army cannot be fully deployed.

Nevertheless, in sheer weight of metal Germany's preponderance of existing armaments is very great, and her war potential is of formidable proportions. It will already have occurred to you that there is one way, and one way only, in which the three to one ratio of Germany's steel output can be overwhelmed and that is by the 50 to 60 million ingot tons a year of the United States. There is no doubt that if the war potential of North America is organized and thrown into the scale, the combined strength of America and the British Empire can certainly surpass and outlast that of Germany and her satellites.

But, in war, time is all-important. Hitler has been held up by British resistance. If the tide of Nazism is to be rolled back, both Britain and the United States must act with speed. When German militarism last broke loose twenty-six years ago and threatened to overrun Europe, the French and the Russian Armies and the British Navy held the Kaiser's forces at bay for two years while the British Empire steadily built up and equipped almost from nothing a great army, which ultimately exceeded 90 divisions. When the United States entered the war three years later, she too had a year's grace in which to prepare while the Allied forces continued to hold the front.

This time the pace is very much faster. The task of holding the Western front imposed too great a strain on the resources of France, who had unwisely pinned her faith to

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the defensive strength of the Maginot Line and whose military and political leaders had made grave mistakes in their preparations and dispositions. During the winter of 1939-40 the workers of France in the factories laboured hard to make good her deficiencies, but when the crisis came neither her leadership nor her armies nor her material could stand against the German onslaught.

Yet those eight months gave us in Britain an invaluable respite in which to call up and train our rapidly growing army, and to crank up and set in motion Britain's war machine. I hope that no Englishman will ever forget that France first stood in the breach, and, by so doing, kept Hitler's Air Force within Germany's own frontiers during those vital months when we were so ill-prepared. The development of America's war industries has inevitably started many months later than our own. The sailors and airmen of England are giving American industry the respite it needs to get under way. But the pressure is severe, and we must expect that the attack will develop with redoubled force in the spring. Every help that can be given to assist in repelling that attack and in driving the enemy's air force from our shores will enable us to hasten and expand our own war production and bring nearer the day when Great Britain can resume the offensive.

It would be most unseemly for me to say anything about America's armament production. And even if I had any comment to make my mouth would be closed by the recollection of our own belated and uncertain start.

Even during the first six months of the war the speed of our preparations was unduly slow. The apparent stalemate on the western front suggested a long and almost uneventful war, and many people in England who realized that even in war-time the ordinary life of a nation must be carried on, attached perhaps undue importance to keeping up our export trade in order that we might earn the means of buying munitions overseas for ourselves and our Allies. In short, there was far too much the spirit of 'business as usual' —because the danger was underestimated.

Dunkirk changed all that. The rush of events, the change

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of Government which brought the Labour leaders into the Cabinet and gave to Britain the inspiring leadership of Mr. Winston Churchill, transformed the situation almost overnight. For week after week the workers have given up their Sunday rest, and by working round the clock made the output of war factories leap up. Leisurely arguments about the dilution of labour were brushed aside, unexampled powers to order any man or woman, civilian or soldier, to his post, to commandeer or to move machinery or any other kind of property were willingly conceded by Parliament; with one consent the nation as a whole settled down to pull out a full war stroke. I have already given you some idea of the result achieved.

The increased tempo of our war preparation needs to be reinforced by an equally vigorous effort on this side of the Atlantic. Your President, both in word and in deed, has undertaken to give all possible material aid to Britain in our fight. In my limited experience, this policy has the overwhelming support of the mass of the American people, regardless of party, for it is realized that Britain is to-day standing against totalitarianism for the kind of world in which American ideas and American ideals can live and flourish. The response from America in sending what was readily available has been prompt, timely, and enthusiastic. But to match the great German war machine an immense industrial effort must be made—a task in which organizations such as yours can take a leading part. The greatest air armada the world has ever seen must come into existence as quickly as possible. Weapons must be forged for the British Expeditionary Forces that will in due course be needed in various parts of the world to prevent the soul-destroying blight of Nazism from spreading, not only over Europe, but into other continents. Ships must be built not merely for naval purposes, but to carry the armaments and the troops required by the strategic plan that will unfold in the year or years immediately ahead.

But the production of giant airplanes and of guns and tanks is a lengthy process, even when it is carried out under the highest pressure; and here in the United States you are

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asked at this moment to shoulder the double burden of helping Britain in addition to providing urgently for your own defence. America's resources are vast. But great though they may be, this double task will require unusual measures and some interference with the ordinary economic processes. I can conceive that you could fulfil your defence programme and still carry on business as usual; I can imagine that you could give very powerful assistance to Great Britain without interfering seriously with your ordinary economy; but I cannot believe that you will be able both to carry out your own defence programme and give us the aid we need without some sacrifice of the amenities of ordinary life.

I believe that the American people are ready and anxious to make that sacrifice. I believe that American industry by the speed and efficiency of its mobilization will astonish the world. If the picture I have suggested of the balance of forces may give food for thought, my reason for doing so is not to create a feeling of pessimism, but rather to invite you squarely to face the issue that lies ahead of all of us.

The British people have shown how much the qualities that are bred in freedom will count in this great struggle between good and evil in the world. Before we are through we shall need the material backing of all who believe in the cause for which we are fighting. I feel sure that this support will be forthcoming and that, with the aid which you will bring us and with the free peoples of the British Commonwealth at our side, we shall, in the famous phrase of a past age, save England by our exertions, and the world by our example.

SPEECH TO THE AMERICAN FARM BUREAU
FEDERATION AT BALTIMORE,
11 DECEMBER 1940¹

IT is now nearly five months since I made a public speech in the United States. Since then I have been home to consult with my Government and to find out for myself how things were going in Britain. I want to-night to give you some of the conclusions I have formed.

In these last five months there have been tremendous changes. When I last spoke we had just experienced a terrific shock—the overthrow of France. Hitler seemed irresistible. First, Poland had been overwhelmed; then Norway; then Holland; then Belgium. Finally came the destruction in less than a month's fighting of what had been rated as the finest army for its size in Europe, and the disarmament and division of France.

If you recall those dismal days you will remember there was something like despair among many diplomatic and business circles in Washington, New York, and other cities of the United States. What could be the future of civilization if France, that beautiful child of liberty, had erased the rights of man, established at the Revolution and defined in the three immortal words, 'Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité', from her escutcheon?

Further, Hitler had announced that he would dictate peace in London in August, or at the latest in the middle of September. And hadn't he always been right over his military dates?

Britain had saved her soldiers, it is true, by a miracle at Dunkirk. But they had lost all their equipment, guns, tanks, motor vehicles, machine guns, and rifles. The German Air Force, too, was known to be far superior in numbers to the R.A.F., and its dive-bombers had just crushed the resistance

¹ This, the last speech written by the late Lord Lothian, was not actually delivered by him, but was read on his behalf on the 11th December by Mr. Nevile Butler, Counsellor of His Majesty's Embassy, at a banquet at Baltimore of the American Farm Bureau Federation.

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of the French Army. Wasn't it certain that England was going to be conquered and that, with Hitler's crossing of the Channel, the end of the British Commonwealth would come?

If these were gloomy prophecies in circulation about us, there were hardly less gloomy speculations about the future of the United States. If Hitler conquered Britain, the British Fleet would be sunk or surrendered or scattered among the British nations overseas. Yet wasn't it clear that American security required two fleets—the British Fleet based on Britain blocking the entry of hostile European fleets into the Eastern Atlantic, and the United States Fleet predominant in the Pacific?

It was this dual system which protected the Monroe Doctrine and which alone could keep war distant from American shores. That, too, was the time when the gloomy revelation was made in the Press that the United States was as unprepared for modern war as all the democracies had been. It was said that she had full modern equipment for only 75,000 to 100,000 soldiers, an air force which was very good in quality but terribly small and with no reserves or the organized manufacturing capacity of the nation behind it, and an excellent navy but a one-ocean navy facing the possibility of a two-ocean war. The prospect, therefore, before the United States if the British Fleet was sunk or surrendered or sailed away to outer parts of the British Empire was not rosy. With Hitler's and Mussolini's navies and the remains of the French Fleet based on the Eastern rim of the Atlantic and on strategic islands well out in the Atlantic, Iceland, and on the Faroes, Azores, and Teneriffe, would not the whole American Fleet have to come back to the Atlantic, leaving the Pacific, both North and South, at the mercy of Japan? Moreover, even if some part of the British Fleet passed across to North American ports, it would not have a quarter as much value to North America.

If Gibraltar and West African ports fell into Axis hands, how could the United States defend the Monroe Doctrine, especially if some thousands of planes were assembled at Dakar, with Fifth Columns in the Americas elated and arrogant at the downfall of Britain?

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Finally, what would happen to the rearmament programme of the United States if Hitler and his allies, with Britain conquered, in possession of nearly all the strategic positions and industrial resources of the globe, were able to build three battleships or tanks or aeroplanes for one against the United States?

Those June and July days were indeed gloomy days for us and for you. It was the period of Hitler's triumph—when he went to Les Invalides to commune with an earlier conqueror of Europe, to the Eiffel Tower to survey his new Empire, and to Boulogne where once before a Grand Army had been assembled for the conquest of Britain.

But that grim picture has been dispelled, at any rate for the present, by the action of the people of a small island in the North Sea, nobly and valiantly aided by the young nations of the British family across the seas.

First there was the retreat from Dunkirk, not an operation likely in itself to bring victory but certainly a testimony to the undiminished toughness and fighting capacity of British soldiers and sailors. Then came Mr. Winston Churchill, with almost the whole of the rest of the world on the run, standing undaunted in the breach, defying in matchless oratory the apparently irresistible power and prestige of Hitler and National Socialism, and inviting his fellow countrymen not to appeasement or to retreat but to resistance at the price of blood, suffering, sweat, and tears. Then came reports from your own air attachés that the R.A.F. had taken the measure of the German Air Force despite its superiority in numbers and was on the high road to establishing its supremacy over the British Isles. Then followed the great air battles of August and September in which the Germans lost nearly 200 machines in a day and five or six to one in pilots. Then came the brutal bombing of London and especially East London by night. Few people realize what an inferno that was. The first attack set great fires alight so that hour after hour and night after night the German bombers could return the short distance to their bases in France to collect fresh cargoes of destruction to unload on the stricken people in Dockland.

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But there was no flinching before Hitler's attempted intimidation, no crying for peace, no suggestion that, though we were almost alone, we had had enough. Simple victims, blown from hearth and home, declared they would stick it if only others did and it led to victory. Air raid wardens, men and women fire fighters, police, doctors and nurses and the voluntary services worked on hour after hour, day after day, amid fires and the crashing of bombs with heavy casualties until they had rescued and tended the wounded, fought down the flames, and by new resources of the barrage and other devices had brought bombing under some control. And, finally, has come the gradual petering out of the much heralded invasion of Britain. That invasion was really broken in great air battles, battles when Hitler tried to beat down our Air Force and open the way for his ships and his troops. But every day it is made more difficult as our armies increase and their equipment reaches modern standards and as our squadrons multiply and our organization improves.

Thus if Hitler won the first round of the great battle which began in Norway in April we have won the second. For without the conquest of Britain Hitler cannot win the war.

But the war is not yet won. Do not think that Hitler's Nazidom is going to be easily overthrown. Hitler is certainly going to make another attempt next year—and earlier rather than later—to beat down our resistance by new methods of still greater violence and so open the way to world war and domination by the Nazis.

I do not think even now we realize the true nature of National Socialism. The triumph of Hitler no doubt grew from the despair which settled on Central Europe in the long years of war, defeat, inflation, and revolutionary propaganda and which grew from the unemployment and the frustration which followed the absence of any real unity in Europe, the sudden restriction of immigration overseas, and the attempt to combine the collection of reparations and war debts by the Allies with the imposition of unjust tariffs after the War. It was what gave Hitler his chance. But

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modern National Socialism is the reassertion of the strongest tradition in German and Prussian history, belief in an all-powerful military State creating order and discipline at home by ruthless Gestapo methods and expanding its wealth and power by ruthless conquest abroad. Hitler has created a movement in Germany which is so unfamiliar to the Western democracies as to be almost incomprehensible to us. The central purpose of the democratic movement in the West of the last few centuries has been to enlarge the liberty and responsibility of the individual citizen. War and despotism have been anathema to the democratic mind just because they are both inherently destructive to individual liberty. We have almost lost the capacity to understand that war and conquest can be regarded and preached as heroic, legitimate ends in themselves.

Yet that is precisely what National Socialism under the leadership of Hitler does. Nazism is the application of the principle of army organization, obedience, and discipline to the whole nation, to men, women, and children alike, partly as the basis of order at home and partly so that it can be used in war, total war, war without limit, without mercy, with its concomitants, propaganda and fraud, as a means of total subjugation of other nations to serve the Nazi will. I repeat it is almost impossible for us to believe that such a programme can make the central purpose of a modern nation. Yet it is beyond question that this is what Hitler's Germany stands for. Hitler and his party are not concerned to bring about juster frontiers in Europe between free peoples or a fairer distribution of colonial territories between the leading nations of the world. Their object is to subjugate others so that their resources can be organized on totalitarian lines for the benefit of the German military State. And they believe that, provided they use that power with efficient ruthlessness, modern science and modern psychology have given them the means with which to create the greatest military empire the world has known.

First they demoralize and disintegrate their neighbours by the propaganda of fear, appeasement, pacifism, internal division. Then they knock them out by total war.

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Hitler first used those methods to conquer the old Germany and destroy all opposing forces within it. He then set out to organize Germany as a military State by a propaganda machine of tremendous power. He then turned this terrific instrument on Europe to overthrow and enslave peace-loving nations one by one—first Austria, then Czechoslovakia, then Poland, then Norway, Denmark, Holland, and Belgium, until Europe, save for Britain and Russia, now lies prostrate before him. But that is not going to satisfy Hitler and the National Socialists. If they are allowed to do so they will now go on to organize Europe itself for war and propaganda in order to use it for further expansion later on. Under Hitler the free nations of Europe are never going to reappear. They are going to be reduced permanently to political, economic, and military impotence so that they can act as suppliers of serfs to the ruling German race. You can see the process beginning in the annexation of Lorraine and the transplantation of its people, and in the hideous treatment of the Poles. You can see it in the transportation of machine-tools into Germany so that Berlin will control all economic power and the rest of Europe has to toil for its masters.

Hitlerism cannot stop and become peaceful. Nazi Germany is organized for war and totalitarian economics and for nothing else. Its economic system like everything else is built on fraud. War and preparation for war are its only real remedy for unemployment.

This war therefore is not a war between nations like the last war. It is more of a revolution than a war—a revolutionary war waged by Hitler and his military totalitarian machine against all other nations and the free world in which we have lived, so as to make them military, political, and economic satellites in a totalitarian world empire.

Then Hitler will have given the world peace—the peace of death, and employment—the employment of the slave.

It is quite obvious that the only way of stopping the expansion of Hitlerism in Europe is to confront it somewhere with the power possessed by superior armaments and an impregnable strategic position. As we have found through bitter experience it will never be stopped by appeasement or

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concessions. It is equally obvious that there will be no freedom for the conquered peoples of Europe until the authority of the Nazi group and its brutal philosophy have been overthrown in Germany itself.

Hitler as we have seen has lost the second round of the war. But we think he is certainly going to renew the attack on Britain with all his might this winter and spring.

Everything else is for him a side-show. But if he can destroy Britain he and his friends will have won the basis of world domination. But this time he is going to concentrate on the sea. He has failed to overwhelm us in the air and we are sure he will continue to fail while with your help our power to hit back with our bombers will steadily increase.

But he is building submarines and long-distance planes with all his might and main with which to bomb convoys and announce their location to submarines. He will base them on all ports and aerodromes along that line which runs like a vast semi-circle round Britain from Narvik down the northern and western coasts of France to Spain. He will have two new 35,000-ton battleships, *Tirpitz* and *Bismarck*, and other vessels in the North Sea early next year. With these he will try to deliver a knock-out blow at our communications so as to prevent us getting the food, raw materials, and aeroplanes necessary to enable us to continue the war at full strength.

The danger of course springs ultimately from the fact that whereas in the last war we had the support of the Japanese, Italian, and French Navies, and after April 1917 of your Navy, to-day, since the disappearance of the powerful French Navy, we are fighting alone. Our Navy therefore, with tremendous tasks which rest on it, none of which has it shirked or evaded, is strung out terribly thin.

We think this is a situation which concerns you almost as much as it concerns us. It has long been clear that your security no less than ours depends upon our holding the Atlantic impregnable and you the Pacific. So long as this is so the way of life to which we are attached can continue and our free economic system can resist totalitarian attack.

But if one of these two navies fails and the unity of the

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British Commonwealth begins to disappear, the control of trade routes begins to pass to Axis Powers, and those controlling bastions of sea power which now keep war away from America become the jumping-off points from which it can be menaced. Moreover, the Axis-Japanese Pact of September last makes nakedly clear the ultimate objective of totalitarian strategy. As soon as the Italian or German Army or Fleet can occupy Gibraltar or North West Africa, or Great Britain's control of the Atlantic has been sufficiently weakened to cause doubt as to where the American Fleet should be stationed, a two-ocean attack on us both in the Atlantic and Pacific will be simultaneously launched. The more secure our control of the Atlantic the less likely is the outbreak of a two-ocean war.

We have both, therefore, a vital interest in decisively defeating the now rapidly maturing naval attack on British communications. It is the best way of preventing a spread of the war. And an essential step towards that victory which will eventually follow the failure of Hitler to destroy Great Britain both in the air and on the sea is the uninterrupted flow of American munitions to the British Isles.

We have no illusions, therefore, about 1941. It is going to be a hard, dangerous year. Our shipping losses have recently been formidable. In one week British, Allied, and Neutral losses were nearly 200,000 tons. Only one of the two passages to Britain round Ireland is open to us, which enables Germany to concentrate its submarines on it.

We are suffering on an average for October 200 civilian deaths and 300 civilians mutilated every night by enemy bombardment, and our food supplies are gradually being more strictly rationed.

But we are not in the least dismayed. With help from you we are confident that we can win, and win decisively, by 1942, if not before. We are confident first of all for spiritual reasons. The core of Hitlerism is moral rottenness and the belief that the use of utter brutality, ruthless power, and the prosecution of domination is the road to greatness both in individuals and in nations. Hitlerism is a tragedy in Germany. Its doctrine is not true. All history proves it wrong.

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The Sermon on the Mount is in the long run much stronger than all Hitler's propaganda or Goering's guns and bombs.

The core of the Allied creed, for all our mistakes of omission and commission, is liberty, justice, and truth, and that, we believe, will infallibly prevail if we have resolution and the courage to resist to the end.

But on the side of armaments also we have great growing assets. The curve of our munition and aeroplane production is steadily rising—despite bombing. The number of our divisions, of our aeroplanes and our pilots, is also steadily going up. What is more, the important young nations of the Commonwealth—Canada, Australia, South Africa, and New Zealand—are fast getting into their stride. The number of their divisions is increasing. You will soon hear of their prowess over more than one front, as you have heard of New Zealand's warship, the *Achilles*, in the *Graf Spee* battle, and Australia's *Sydney* in the Mediterranean. The Canadian training scheme is rapidly coming into output. You will be staggered at what will come from Canada shortly in the shape of trained pilots and men. And Canada produced, perhaps, the best airmen in our forces in the Great War. Australia and New Zealand are producing pilots also in great numbers. South Africa is actively engaged, both in the air and on land, in Abyssinia, Kenya, and the Sudan. Indian troops and Indian munitions are now coming into the battle fronts, and ever-increasing resources are coming from colonies and territories loyal to a man and proud of their membership of the Commonwealth.

The whole of this growing aggregation of power is now being mobilized. Its first task is to defend that great ring of defensive positions which lie around you—Britain itself, Gibraltar, Cape Town, Egypt, the Suez Canal, Singapore, Australia, and New Zealand. If Hitler and his friends could smash through these great positions his power could begin to spread over Africa and the Pacific; it would make the problem both of security and of bringing the war to a victorious end immeasurably more difficult. But as long as we can hold these positions we and the democratic world beyond them are safe. Napoleon saw all war as a struggle for position.

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Our second task is to enable us to deliver increasingly formidable blows at Germany itself and at her allies, one of whom is already beginning to crack, and to bring assistance to the subjugated peoples who are now once more beginning to show signs of resistance to Hitler's will. The heroic Greeks, now striking a mortal blow at the prestige of Mussolini and his system, are showing how much the position has already improved since the legend of totalitarian invulnerability was broken last September.

But that result is not yet secure. It will be put to the test in 1941. If we can stave off the attack on Britain, if we can outlast next year still holding all the positions I have mentioned, Hitlerism in the end must go down, unless Admiral Mahan is all wrong. By ourselves we cannot be sure of this result—though we will try our best. Not only is there the situation in the North Atlantic which I have described, but no one can yet tell where constant pressure by Hitler, both on the Vichy Government to give him control of the French Fleet and bases in the Mediterranean, and on Japan to extend the war in the Pacific, may lead to; but with your help in aeroplanes, munitions, and ships, and on the sea and in the field of finance now being discussed between your Treasury and ours, we are sure of victory—sure that this gangster menace to human freedom, the greatest the world has ever seen, will go down to the oblivion it deserves.

It is not for me to try to tell you what you ought to do. That is entirely for you to decide for yourselves. But it is my business to see that you are informed of the essential facts—unless you are so informed you cannot form judgement, and I and not you would be responsible for the consequences. Hence this speech to-night.

You have already declared your interest, your sure interest, in the survival of Britain. It is for you to decide whether it is to your interest to give us whatever assistance may be necessary in order to make certain that Britain shall not fall.

There are only two more things I want to say in conclusion. The first is that nobody who, like myself, has seen what the steady and constant bombardment of great cities from the air means could wish any friendly country like the

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United States of America to undergo any similar experience. Hitler has let loose this kind of warfare on mankind and he will have to take the consequences. We, for geographical reasons, are in the firing line. But you, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and probably South Africa have the chance, if you take it, of saving yourselves from being the theatre of total war. You are the centre of that great ring of fortresses, Britain, Gibraltar, Cape Town, Suez, Singapore, and Australia, which I have mentioned and to which I should add Hawaii and Panama. So long as these fortresses stand, war, with its aerial bombardment, cannot in any real sense of the word roll up to your shores or devastate your towns and cities. I don't believe that liberal civilization can develop under conditions of constant bombardment and war. Modern individual freedom was developed first in England precisely because the Channel protected Britain from constant war, and later in America because the Atlantic did the same. Almost alone among nations you still have the chance of making your country immune from the devastation of war, not by pacifism or the attempted appeasement of the dictators but by helping to keep the frontiers I have described all occupied by liberal democracies like yourselves, prepared to fight for their independence and yours, and with your help able collectively to generate more power than the totalitarian alliance can bring against them. But if the ramparts fall, war will inevitably cross the oceans to roll up against your shores. If Britain, the eastern shores of the Atlantic, and islands which lie off its shore, Iceland, the Azores, or bases like Dakar fall into the dictators' hands, or if you are unable to defend the island fortresses of the Pacific, then the jumping-off grounds go against you, the oceans become a passage-way, and your power to strike back at an enemy disappears because you have no bases from which to do so.

The last thing I want to say concerns the future. There were two things which I found the ordinary citizen of Britain thinking about. The first was that all his and her suffering and sacrifice should, if possible, end not all wars, for human nature is probably not yet ready for that, but

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the kind of total war Hitler is waging with its hideous mutilation and destruction from the air, its brutal persecution of conquered peoples. The second was that after this war no one who had done his duty should be thrown on the scrap-heap of unemployment with nothing but bonus or dole. Somehow or other employment must be found for everybody.

Some people are spreading a legend that democracy is disappearing from Britain and that she will come out at the end of the war a Fascist or Communist State. Nothing could be further from the truth. I have never known Britain more truly democratic. The British are not going to change their essential character. It has shown itself in this war. They will move forward, of course, with the times, but without revolutionary violence.

But the more people think about the future the more they are drawn to the conclusion that all real hope depends on some form of co-operation between the United States and the British Commonwealth of Nations. Even if we win total victory there will be no chance of immediately creating an effective new League of Nations. There will be nothing in Europe from which to make it. A majority of the younger generation consists of people who have been educated in such brutish doctrines as blood and earth, that might is right, that Jews are social poison, or that business men are hyenas only fit for destruction. No man can even say what France to-morrow will be like.

The plain truth is that peace and order always depend, not on disarming police, but on there being an overwhelming power behind just law. The only place where that power can be found behind the laws of the liberal and democratic world is the United States and Great Britain supported by the Dominions and some other free nations.

The only nucleus round which a stable, peaceful, democratic world can be built after this war is if the United States and Great Britain possess between them more aeroplanes, ships of war, and key positions of world power such as I have described than any possible totalitarian rival. Then, and then only, will political and industrial freedom be secure and

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will it be possible for a free economic system to prevail against the economics of totalitarianism. If we are to set the world going again, not only must we have strength but we must not adopt the fatal policies we all pursued after the last war—the establishment of prohibitive tariffs, trying to collect fantastic reparations and war debts through those tariffs, then hoping to dodge the inevitable consequences of these follies by a policy of reckless lending. Markets and employment for all should be the main purpose of our post-war economic policy.

I have done. I have endeavoured to give you some idea of our present position and dangers, the problems of 1941, and our hopes for the future. It is for you to decide whether you share our hopes and what support you will give us in realizing them. We are, I believe, doing all we can. Since May there is no challenge we have evaded, no challenge we have refused. If you back us you won't be backing a quitter. The issue now depends largely on what you decide to do. Nobody can share that responsibility with you. It is the great strength of democracy that it brings responsibility down squarely on every citizen and every nation. And before the judgement seat of God each must answer for his own actions.

